

THE
WORKS
OF
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

T H E
W O R K S
O F
CORNELIUS TACITUS;

B Y
ARTHUR MURPHY, Esq.

WITH
AN ESSAY ON THE LIFE AND GENIUS OF TACITUS;
NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, AND MAPS.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes fileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque
ex posteritate et infamiâ metus fit.

TACITUS, Annales, iii. f. 65.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. (I.)

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DEDICATION.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE,

SIR,

YOU will be surpris'd to see your name at the head of this Address; but I flatter myself that the liberty which I take, in violation of all preliminary forms, will not require an apology. As soon as I had finish'd a long and laborious work, with the ambition of adding to English Literature (what seemed to be much wanted) a Translation of a great Historian, it was natural that I should look round for a person of genius and learning, from whose candour I can promise myself a just, but mild decision. This, Sir, was the practice in ancient times, when the Republic of Letters was considered as an honourable community, and the several members address'd their Works to one another with a spirit

A

of

of freedom and integrity, till the manners underwent a change, and, Adulation diffusing its baneful influence, Dedication became another word for servile Flattery.

It is not my intention to conform to the modern practice ; but, though I know what a small, if any, portion of ancient genius has fallen to my lot, I claim the privilege of imitating the disinterested manners of a liberal age: I beg leave to dedicate my labours to the person, whose talents I have long admired ; to the man, whom I saw many years ago coming forth from the school of Quintilian, impressed with the great principle of that consummate master, *ne futurum quidem oratorem, nisi bonum virum*. In the part which you have acted on the great stage of public business, the effect of that principle has been seen and acknowledged ; but in no instance, with such distinguished lustre, as when we saw you, on a late occasion, with a patriot spirit standing forth *the champion of Truth*, of your Country, and the British Constitution.

—————Per obstantes catervas
Explicuit sua victor arma.

The regicides of France had the vanity to offer their new lights and wild metaphysics to a people
who

who have understood and cherished Civil Liberty from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the present hour; but your penetrating eye pervaded the whole, and, in one book, demonstrated, that so far from being objects of imitation, the New Politicians of France were no better than ARCHITECTS OF RUIN. The *Friends of the People* in that country have been for years employed in proving, by all their acts and decrees, the truth of your reasoning; they have been, I may say, writing Notes on your Book, and the Commentary has been fatally too often written in blood.

It is now acknowledged, Sir, that your early vigilance, your zeal and ardour, have hindered this country from being made a theatre of rapine, blood, and massacre. To whom can Tacitus, the great statesman of his time, be so properly addressed, as to him, whose writings have saved his country? Scenes of horror, like those which you have described, were acted at Rome, and Tacitus has painted them in colours equal to your own. He has shewn a frantic people, under the Prætorian bands, and the German legions, fighting for Anarchy, not for Civil Government.

Though

Though it is not for me to tell you, Sir, what is to be found in Tacitus, I beg leave to observe, that in these volumes there are three Tracts of great importance. In the Manners of the Germans, we have the origin of that Constitution, which you have so ably defended: in the Life of Agricola, we see that holy flame of Liberty, which has been for ages the glory of Englishmen, and the wonder of foreign nations. The Dialogue concerning Oratory is, perhaps, one of the most beautiful pieces that have come down to us from antiquity. Those three Tracts have been always admired, and have now, in a great measure, occasioned this Address; for, to speak my mind with freedom, if I knew a man in the kingdom, who understands those subjects better than yourself, I should have spared you the trouble of this Dedication.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your most faithful

And most humble servant,

ARTHUR MURPHY.

*HammerSmith Terrace, }
6th May, 1793.*

A N
E S S A Y
O N T H E
L I F E A N D G E N I U S
O F
T A C I T U S.

TH E author, whose works are now offered to the public, has gained, by the suffrages of posterity, the highest rank among the historians of Greece and Rome. A profound judge of men, and a severe censor of the manners, he has delineated, with the pencil of a master, the characters and the very inward frame of the vile and profligate ; while the good and upright receive, in his immortal page, the recompence due to their virtue. It is true that, while he extends the fame of others, he exalts his own name, and enjoys the triumph ; but it is to be regretted that no memoirs of his life are extant. He knew the value of that private history which presents the select lives of eminent men ; and, in the life of Agricola, has left a perfect model of biography : a mode of writing which, he says,

we may be sure that it was after a method very different from the fashion then in vogue. The infant, according to the practice of the age, was committed to the menial servants, who were generally Greeks (1), and consigned, as soon as he grew up, to the tuition of flimsy professors, who called themselves RHETORICIANS, and pretended to teach the rules of attic eloquence. But Greece was fallen into a state of degeneracy. The sublime of Demosthenes was out of date. Point, antithesis, and brilliant conceit, were the delight of vain preceptors, who filled the city of Rome, and held schools of declamation, by Cicero called *Ludus impudentiæ*. The manners were corrupted at the fountain-head; virtue was undermined by the professors of morals; the doctrine of Epicurus spread the mischief wider, and the proud philosophy of the stoics was not able to repair the breach.

Tacitus, it is evident, did not imbibe the smallest tincture of that frivolous science, and that vicious eloquence, that debased the Roman genius. He, most probably, had the good fortune to be formed upon the plan adopted in the time of the republic (2), and, with the help of a sound scheme of home-discipline, and the best domestic example, he grew up, in a course of virtue, to that vigour of mind which gives such animation to his writings. The early bent of his own natural genius was such, that he may be said to have been self-educated; *ex se natus*, as Tiberius said of one of his favourite orators. It is reasonable to suppose that he at-

(1) See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. 29.

(2) See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. 28.

tended the lectures of Quintilian, who, in opposition to the sophists of Greece, taught, for more than twenty years, the rules of that manly eloquence which is so nobly displayed in his institutes. Some of the critics have applied to our author, the passage in which Quintilian, after enumerating the writers who flourished in that period, says, “ There is another person (1) who gives additional lustre “ to the age; a man who will deserve the admiration “ of posterity. I do not mention him at present: his name “ will be known hereafter.” If this passage relates to Tacitus, the prediction has been fully verified. When Quintilian published his great work, in the reign of Domitian, Tacitus had not then written his Annals, or his History. Those immortal compositions were published in the time of Trajan. It does not often happen that the sentiments of an historian are in unison with his own private character. Sallust has employed the colours of eloquence, to paint the vices of the times which he describes; but his own morals were not free from reproach. It is otherwise with Tacitus. He pronounces sentence against bad men and evil deeds, with the firmness of an upright judge, who practised the virtue which he commends. Pure and disinterested, he wrote and acted with the same spirit, and was, for that reason, the chosen companion and bosom friend of the younger Pliny (2).

(1) Superest adhuc, et exornat ætatis nostræ gloriam, vir sæculorum memoriâ dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intelligitur. Quint. lib. x. cap. 1.

(2) Cornelium Tacitum (scis quem virum) arctâ familiaritate complexus est. Lib. iv. epist. 15.

The infancy of Tacitus kept him untainted by the vices of Nero's court. He was about twelve years old when that emperor finished his career of guilt and folly ; and in the tempestuous times that followed, he was still secured by his tender years. Vespasian restored the public tranquillity, revived the liberal arts, and gave encouragement to men of genius. In the first eight years of that emperor, Tacitus was at leisure to enlarge his mind, and cultivate the studies proper to form an orator and a Roman citizen. The circle of arts and sciences was narrow in comparison with the wide range of modern times. Eloquence and the sword were the means by which a Roman aspired to the honours of the state. Quintilian describes the efficient qualities of an orator, and those, he says, consisted in a thorough knowledge of the whole system of ethics, some skill in natural philosophy, and a competent knowledge of history, united to a perfect acquaintance with the rules of logic. He cautions his pupil
“ not to bewilder himself in the maze of metaphysics, and
“ the chimerical visions of abstract speculation, which
“ are too remote from the duties of civil life. What
“ philosopher has ever been an able judge, an eminent
“ orator, or a skillful statesman? The orator, whom I
“ would form, should be a Roman of enlarged under-
“ standing, a man of experience in public affairs, not
“ absorbed in subtle disquisition, but exercised in the com-
“ merce of the world. Let the lover of theory and
“ visionary schemes enjoy his retreat in the schools
“ of different sects ; and let the useful advocate learn
“ his art from those who alone can teach it, the
“ active,

“ active, the useful, and the industrious (1).” That Tacitus agreed with the doctrine of Quintilian, is evident in the passage where he says of Agricola, that the commander of armies was, in the course of his education, in danger of being lost to the public, in consequence of an early bias to the refined systems of philosophy, till, upon mature consideration, he had the good sense to wean himself from the vain pursuit of ingenious, but unavailing science (2).

Our author's first ambition was to distinguish himself at the bar. In the year of Rome 828, the sixth of Vespasian, being then about eighteen, he attended the eminent men of the day, in their enquiry concerning the causes of corrupt eloquence. It is here assumed, that he was the author of that elegant Tract, for the reasons given in the introduction to the Notes (3). Agricola was joint consul with Domitian, A. U. C. 830, for the latter part of the year. His name does not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*, because that honour

(1) Hæc exhortatio mea non eo pertinet, ut esse oratorem philosophum velim, quando non alia vitæ secta longius a civilibus officiis, atque ab omni munere oratoris recessit. Nam quis philosophorum aut in judiciis frequens, aut clarus concionibus fuit? Quis denique in ipsâ, quam maximè plerique eorum vitandam præcipiunt, reipublicæ administratione versatus est? atque ego illum, quem instituo, Romanum quemdam velim esse sapientem, qui non secretis disputationibus, sed rerum experimentis atque operibus verè civilem virum exhibeat. Sed quia deferta ab iis, qui se ad eloquentiam contulerunt, studia sapientiæ; non jam in actu suo, atque in hac fori luce versantur, sed in porticus et gymnasia primum, mox in conventus scholarum recesserunt, id quod est oratori necessarium, nec a dicendi præceptoribus traditur, ab iis petere nimirum necesse est, apud quos remansit. Quint. lib. xii. cap. 2.

(2) See the Life of Agricola, f. 4.

(3) Dialogue concerning Oratory, vol. iv. p. 445.

was reserved for the consuls, who entered on their office on the kalends of January, and gave their name to the whole year. Tacitus, though not more than twenty, had given such an earnest of his future fame, that Agricola chose him for his son-in-law. Thus distinguished, our author began the career of civil preferment. Vespasian had a just discernment of men, and was the friend of rising merit. Rome, at length, was governed by a prince, who had the good sense and virtue to consider himself as the chief magistrate, whose duty it was to redress all grievances, restore good order, and give energy to the laws. In such times the early genius of our author attracted the notice of the emperor. The foundation of his fortune was laid by Vespasian (1). Tacitus does not tell the particulars, but it is probable that he began with the functions of the *Vigintivirate*; a body of twenty men commissioned to execute an inferior jurisdiction for the better regulation of the city. That office, according to the system established by Augustus, was a preliminary step to the gradations of the magistracy. The senate had power to dispense with it in particular cases; and, accordingly, we find Tiberius applying to the fathers (2) for that indulgence in favour of Drusus, the son of Germanicus. It is probable that Tacitus became one of the *Vigintivirate*, and consequently that the road to honours was laid open to him. The death of Vespasian, which happened A. U. C. 832, did not stop him in his progress. Titus was the friend of virtue. The office of quæstor, which might be entered upon at the age of twenty-four complete, was, in the regular course, the next public honour; and it qualified the

(1) History, i. f. 1.

(2) Annals, iii. f. 29.

person who discharged it, for a seat in the senate at five-and-twenty. Titus reigned little more than two years. Domitian succeeded to the imperial dignity. Suspicious, dark, and fullen, he made the policy of Tiberius the model of his government; and being by nature fierce, vindictive, impetuous, and sanguinary, he copied the headlong fury of Nero, and made cruelty systematic. Possessed of an understanding quick and penetrating, he could distinguish the eminent qualities of illustrious men, whom he dreaded and hated. He saw public virtue, and he destroyed it. And yet, in that disastrous period, Tacitus rose to preferment. It would be difficult to account for the success of a man who in the whole tenour of his conduct preserved an unblemished character, if he himself had not furnished a solution of the problem. Agricola, he tells us, had the address to restrain the headlong violence of Domitian, by his prudence, and the virtues of moderation; never choosing to imitate the zeal of those, who, by their intemperance, provoked their fate, and rushed on sure destruction, without rendering any kind of service to their country. The conduct of Agricola plainly shewed that great men may exist in safety, under the worst and most barbarous tyranny. (1). We may be sure that he, who commends the mild disposition of his father-in-law, had the prudence to observe the same line of conduct. Instead of giving umbrage to the prince, and provoking the tools of power, he was content to display his eloquence at the bar. He pursued his plan of study, and, in the mean time, beheld the miseries of his country with anguish of heart and suppressed in-

(1) *Posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse.* Life of Agricola, . 42.

dignation. Domitian, we are told (1), in order to throw a veil over the passions that lay lurking in his heart, and gathered rancour for a future day, had pretended, in the shade of literary ease, to dedicate all his time to the muses. Tacitus had a talent for poetry, as appears in a letter to his friend Pliny (2). His verses, most probably, served to ingratiate him with the emperor; and, if he was the author of a collection of apothegms, called *Facetiarum Libri*, that very amusement was the truest wisdom at a time when such trifles were the safest employment. Pliny the naturalist published a Treatise of Grammar in the reign of Nero, when every other mode of composition might provoke the sudden fury of an unrelenting tyrant; and that wise example Tacitus might think proper to adopt. Domitian, it is certain, advanced our author's fortune. It is nowhere mentioned that Tacitus discharged the offices of tribune and ædile; but it may be presumed that he passed through those stations to the higher dignity of prætor, and member of the *Quindecimviral College*, which he enjoyed at the secular games A. U. C. 841, the seventh of Domitian (3).

In the course of the following year, our author and his wife left the city of Rome, and absented themselves more than four years. Some writers, willing to exalt the virtue

(1) History, iv. f. 86.

(2) The letter in question is, in many editions, improperly ascribed to Pliny. It is manifestly an answer to what Pliny said to Tacitus, lib. i. epist. 6. *Experieris non Dianam magis montibus, quam Minervam inerrare.* The answer says, *Aprorum tanta penuria est, ut Minervæ et Dianæ, quas ais pariter colendas, conveniri non possit.* Lib. ix. epist. 10.

(3) Annals, xi. f. 11.

of Tacitus, and aggravate the injustice of Domitian, will have it that Tacitus was sent into banishment. This, however, is mere conjecture, without a shadow of probability to support it. Tacitus makes no complaint against Domitian; he mentions no personal injury; he received marks of favour, and he acknowledges the obligation. It may, therefore, with good reason be inferred, that prudential considerations induced our author to retire from a city, where an insatiate tyrant began to throw off all reserve, and wage open war against all who were distinguished by their talents and their virtue. Pliny, the consul, was in the same situation, and has explained the motives of his conduct. He says of himself, “ If I appeared in the reign of a disguised, a politic, “ and insidious prince, to go forward in the career of ho- “ nours, it was at a time when the tyrant had not unmasked “ himself. As soon as he shewed himself the avowed ene- “ my of every virtue, I gave a check to ambition, and, “ though I saw the shortest way to the highest dignities, the “ longest appeared to me the best. I remained, during “ those scenes of public misery, in the number of those “ who beheld the desolation of their country with silent “ sorrow. For what I then suffered, it is now an ample “ recompence, that, in these days of felicity, I am allowed “ to rank with the good and virtuous (1).” In this passage we read the situation and conduct of Tacitus: he, like his friend Pliny, rose to eminence under Domitian; and when

(1) Si cursu quodam provectus ab illo insidiosissimo principe, antequam profiteretur odium bonorum; postquam professus est, substiti; quum viderem quæ ad honores compendia paterent, longius iter malui: si malis temporibus inter mæstos et paventes, bonis inter securos gaudentesque numeror. Paneg. Traj. f. 95.

he saw that iniquity and base compliances were the most compendious means, like his friend he founded his retreat, resolved, at a distance from Rome, to seek a shelter from danger, and wait for better times.

He had been four years absent from Rome, when he received the news of Agricola's death (1). That commander had carried his victorious arms from the southern provinces of Britain to the Grampian Hills in Caledonia, and reduced the whole country as far as the Firth of Tay; but such a rapid course of brilliant success alarmed the jealousy of an emperor, who dreaded nothing so much as a great military character. Agricola was recalled A. U. C. 838. He entered Rome in a private manner, and was received by Domitian with cold civility and dissembled rancour. He lived a few years longer in a modest retreat, and the exercise of domestic virtue, endeavouring to shade the lustre of his vast renown. He died on the 23d day of August, in the year of Rome 846, of the Christian æra 93. A report prevailed, that a dose of poison, administered by the emperor's order, put an end to his days. Tacitus mentions the suspicion, but does not forget that calumny is often busy with false suggestions. Grief is credulous, and, on that occasion, might have been hurried away by the current of popular opinion; but Tacitus was generous enough to acknowledge, with candour, that the story rested on no kind of proof (2). He returned to Rome soon after the death of

(1) Nobis tam longæ absentiæ conditione ante quadriennium amissus es. Vita Agric. f. 45.

(2) Augebat miserationem constans rumor, "Veneno interceptum." Nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim. Vita Agric. f. 43.

his father-in-law, and from that time saw the beginning of the most dreadful æra, in which Domitian broke out with unbridled fury, and made the city of Rome a theatre of blood and horror. Pliny describes the tyrant in his close retreat, brooding over mischief, like a savage beast in his den, and never issuing from his solitude, but to make a worse solitude round him. He adds a sentiment truly noble in the mouth of a Heathen, and, in fact, worthy of a Christian philosopher. Domitian, he says, secluded himself within the walls of his palace ; but he carried with him the malice of his heart, his plans of future massacre, and the presence of an avenging God (1).

The most illustrious citizens were put to death without mercy. They were destroyed by poison, or the assassin's dagger. In some instances, the tyrant wished to give the colour of justice to the most horrible murders, and for that purpose ordered accusations, in due form of law, to be exhibited at the tribunal of the fathers. In all these cases, he invested the senate-house with an armed force, and extorted a condemnation of the most upright citizens. Senators were thrown into dungeons ; rocks and barren islands were crowded with illustrious exiles, who were, in a short time, murdered by the centurions and their hired assassins. Wealth and merit were capital crimes ; the race of informers enriched themselves with the spoils of ruined families ; slaves were admitted to give evidence against their masters ;

(1) Non adire quisquam, non alloqui audebat, tenebras semper secretumque captantem, nec unquam ex solitudine suâ prodeuntem, nisi ut solitudinem faceret. Ille tamen quibus se parietibus et muris salutem suam tueri videbatur, dolum secum, et insidias, et ultorem Deum inclusit. Paneg. Trag. f. 49.

freedmen were suborned against their patrons, and numbers perished by the treachery of their friends (1).

A conspiracy, at length, was formed in the palace by the domestic servants. Domitian fell under repeated wounds on the 18th of September A. U. C. 849, of the Christian æra 96, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. Nerva succeeded to the empire, and carried with him to that eminence virtues unknown to his predecessors, who had been, as Pliny observes, masters of the Roman citizens, and slaves to their own freedmen (2). Nerva found means to reconcile two things, which had been thought incompatible; civil liberty and the prerogative of the prince (3). The emperor was no longer superior to the law; he was subject to it (4). Nerva, in the year of Rome 850, was joint consul with Verginius Rufus; both venerable old men, who exhibited to the people the august spectacle of distinguished virtue advanced to a post of dignity. Nerva had been with difficulty persuaded to accept the imperial sway; and Rufus, when it was pressed upon him by the legions in Germany, had the glory of refusing it upon the noblest principle, because he wished to see the military subordinate to the legislative authority of the senate (5).

(1) Hist. book i. f. 2.

(2) Plerique principes, cum essent civium domini, libertorum erant servi. Paneg. Traj. f. 88.

(3) Res olim diffociabiles; libertatem ac principatum. Vita Agric. f. 3.

(4) Non est princeps super leges, sed leges super principem. Paneg. Traj. f. 65.

(5) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

Verginius

Verginius died before the end of the year, at the age of eighty-three, having seen, in the course of a long life, eleven emperors, and survived them all, notwithstanding the virtues that adorned his character. He lived to see himself extolled by poets, and celebrated by historians, anticipating the praise of posterity, and enjoying his posthumous fame (1). Tacitus was created consul for the remainder of the year, and for that reason, his name is not to be found in the list of consuls. In honour of Verginius, the senate decreed that the rites of sepulture should be performed at the public expence. Tacitus delivered the funeral oration from the rostrum. The applause of such an orator, Pliny says, was sufficient to crown the glory of a well spent life (2). Nerva died on the 27th of January A. U. C. 851, having, about three months before, adopted Trajan for his successor. In that short interval the critics have agreed to place the publication of the Life of Agricola; and their reason is, because Tacitus mentions NERVA CÆSAR, but does not style him Divus, the deified Nerva, which, they say, would have been the case if the emperor was then deceased; but they forgot that, in the same Tract, our author tells us how ardently Agricola wished to see the elevation of Trajan to the seat of empire (3); and that wish would have been an awkward compliment to the reigning prince. It seems therefore probable, that the Life of Agricola was published

(1) Legit scripta de se carmina; legit historias, et posteritati suæ interfuit. Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 1.

(2) Laudatus est a Cornelio Tacito: nam hic supremus felicitati ejus cumulus accessit; laudator eloquentissimus. Lib. ii. epist. 1.

(3) Durare in hac beatissimi sæculi luce, ac principem Trajanum videre augurio votisque ominabatur. Vita Agric. f. 44.

in the reign of Trajan. The Treatise on the Manners of the Germans, it is generally agreed, made its appearance in the year of Rome 851. The new emperor, whose adoption and succession had been confirmed by a decree of the senate, was at the head of the legions in Germany, when he received intelligence of the death of Nerva, and his own accession to the empire. Being of a warlike disposition, he was not in haste to leave the army, but remained there during the entire year. In such a juncture, a picture of German manners could not fail to excite the curiosity of the public. The second consulship of Trajan is mentioned in the Tract (1), and that was A. U. C. 851, in conjunction with NERVA, who died before the end of January. It is therefore certain that the description of Germany saw the light in the course of that year. The Dialogue concerning Oratory was an earlier production, and probably was published in the reign of Titus or Domitian, who are both celebrated in that very piece, for their talents, and their love of polite literature.

The friendship that subsisted between our author and the younger Pliny is well known. It was founded on the consonance of their studies and their virtues. When Pliny says that a good and virtuous prince can never be sincerely loved, unless we shew our detestation of the tyrants that preceded him (2), we may be sure that Tacitus was of the same opinion. They were both convinced that a striking

(1) Manners of the Germans, f. 37.

(2) Neque enim satis amarint bonos principes, qui malos satis non oderint. Paneg. Traj. f. 53.

picture of former tyranny ought to be placed in contrast to the felicity of the times that succeeded. Pliny acted up to his own idea in the panegyric of Trajan, where we find a vein of satire on Domitian running through the whole piece. It appears, in his Letters, that he had some thoughts of writing History on the same principle. To give perpetuity to real merit, and not suffer the men, who deserved to live in the memory of ages, to sink into oblivion, appeared to him to be an honourable employment, and the surest way to transmit his own name to posterity (1); but he had not resolution to undertake that arduous task. Tacitus had more vigour of mind; he thought more intensely, and with deeper penetration than his friend. We find that he had formed, at an early period, the plan of his History, and resolved to execute it, in order to shew the horrors of slavery, and the debasement of the Roman people through the whole of Domitian's reign (2).

He did not, however, though employed in a great and important work, renounce his practice in the forum. It is true, as stated in the Dialogue concerning Oratory, that the eloquence of the old republic was no longer to be found under the emperors; but still great opportunities occurred, and the powers of oratory were called forth on subjects worthy of Cicero and Hortensius. The governors of provinces produced many a VERRES, and the plundered natives had frequent cause of complaint. Senators of the

(1) Pulchrum imprimis videtur, non pati occidere quibus æternitas debetur, aliorumque famam cum suâ extendere. Lib. v. epist. 3.

(2) See Life of Agricola, f. 3.

first eminence were harassed by the crew of informers; and their fortunes, their rank and dignity, their families, and all that was dear to them, depended on the issue of the cause. The orator, on such occasions, felt himself roused and animated: he could thunder and lighten in his discourse; open every source of the pathetic; draw the tear of compassion; and mould his audience according to his will and pleasure. This was the case in the prosecution of Marius Priscus, who had been proconsul of Africa, and stood impeached before the senate at the suit of the province. Pliny relates the whole transaction. Priscus presented a memorial, praying to be tried by a commission of select judges. Tacitus and Pliny, by the special appointment of the fathers, were advocates on the part of the Africans. They thought it their duty to inform the house, that the crimes alledged against Priscus were of too atrocious a nature to fall within the cognizance of an inferior court. Fronto Catus stood up in his favour, and displayed all the force of pathetic eloquence. The villains, to whom it was alledged that Priscus had sold the lives of innocent men, were tried and convicted. The charge against the proconsul was heard at an adjourned meeting, the most august that had ever been seen, the emperor (for he was then consul) presiding in person. Pliny spoke almost five hours successively. Claudius Marcellinus, and Salvius Liberalis exerted themselves for their client. Tacitus replied with great eloquence, and a certain dignity, which distinguished all his speeches (1). It was something very noble, says Pliny, and worthy of Ancient Rome,

(1) Respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissimè, et, quod eximium orationi ejus inest, *σεμνῶς*. Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 11.

to see the senate deliberating three days together. The result was, that Priscus was sentenced to pay 700,000 sesterces, the amount of the bribes he had received, and to be banished Italy. The senate concluded the business, with a declaration that Tacitus and Pliny executed the trust reposed in them to the entire satisfaction of the house.

This cause was tried A. U. C. 853, in the third of Trajan's reign. From that time Tacitus dedicated himself altogether to his History. Pliny informs us, that our author was frequented by a number of visitors, who admired his genius, and for that reason went in crowds to his levee (1). From that conflux of men of letters, Tacitus could not fail to gain the best information. Pliny sent him a full detail of all the circumstances of the death of his uncle, the elder Pliny, who lost his life in the eruption of Mount Vesuvius (2), in order that an exact relation of that event might be transmitted to posterity. Pliny says, "If my uncle is mentioned in your immortal work, his name will live for ever in the records of fame." He says in another Letter, "I presage that your History will be immortal. I ingenuously own, therefore, that I wish to find a place in it. If we are generally careful to have our faces taken by the best artist, ought we not to desire that our actions may be celebrated by an author of your distinguished character?" With that view he draws up an account of his conduct in the prosecution of *Bebius Massa*; and after stating the particulars,

(1) *Copia studiosorum, quæ ad te admiratione ingenii tui convenit.* Lib. iv. epist. 13.

(2) Lib. vi. epist. 16.

he concludes, “ Whatever my merit may be in this business, it is in your power to heighten and spread the lustre of it; though I am far from desiring you would in the least exceed the bounds of reality. History ought to be guided by strict truth, and worthy actions require nothing more (1).”

Trajan reigned nineteen years. He died suddenly in Cilicia A. U. C. 870, A. D. 117. The exact time when our author published his History is uncertain, but it was in some period of Trajan’s reign. He was resolved to send his work into the world in that happy age when he could think with freedom, and what he thought he could publish in perfect security (2). He began from the accession of Galba A. U. C. 822, and followed down the thread of his narrative to the death of Domitian in the year 849; the whole comprising a period of seven-and-twenty years, full of important events, and sudden revolutions, in which the prætorian bands, the armies in Germany, and the legions of Syria, claimed a right to raise whom they thought proper to the imperial seat, without any regard for the authority of the senate. Such was the subject Tacitus had before him. The summary view, which he has given of those disastrous times, is the most awful picture of civil commotion, and the wild distraction of a frantic people (3). Vossius says, the whole work consisted of no less than thirty books; but, to

(1) Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honestè factis veritas sufficit. Lib. vii. epist. 33.

(2) Rarâ temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet. Hist. i. f. 1.

(3) See History, i. f. 2.

the great loss of the literary world, we have only four books, and the beginning of the fifth. In what remains, we have little after the accession of Vespasian. The Reign of Titus, the delight of human-kind, is totally lost, and Domitian has escaped the vengeance of the historian's pen.

The History being finished, Tacitus did not think that he had completed his *Tablature of Slavery*. He went back to Tiberius, who left a model of tyranny for his successors. This second work included a period of four-and-fifty years, from the year 767, to the death of Nero in 821. The part of the History which has come down to us, does not include two entire years. During that time the whole empire was convulsed, and the author had to arrange the operations of armies in Germany, Batavia, Gaul, Italy, and Judæa, all in motion almost at the same time. This was not the case in the *Annals*. The Roman world was in profound tranquillity, and the History of Domestic Transactions was to supply Tacitus with materials. The author has given us, with his usual brevity, the true character of this part of his work :
 “ The detail (1), he says, into which he was obliged to enter, while it gave lessons of prudence, was in danger of being dry and unentertaining. In other Histories, the operation of armies, the situation of countries, the events of war, and the exploits of illustrious generals, awaken curiosity, and expand the imagination. We have nothing before us but acts of despotism, continual accusations, the treachery of friends, the ruin of innocence, and trial after trial, ending always in the same tragic catastrophe.

(1) See *Annals*, iv. f. 33.

“ Events like these will give to the work a tedious uniformity,
 “ without an object to enliven attention, without an inci-
 “ dent to prevent satiety.” But the genius of Tacitus sur-
 mounted every difficulty. He was able to keep attention
 awake, to please the imagination, and enlighten the under-
 standing. The style of the Annals differs from that of the
 History, which required stately periods, pomp of expression,
 and harmonious sentences. The Annals are written in a
 strain more subdued and temperate: every phrase is a
 maxim: the narrative goes on with rapidity; the author is
 sparing of words, and prodigal of sentiment: the characters
 are drawn with a profound knowledge of human nature,
 and when we see them figuring on the stage of public bu-
 siness, we perceive the internal spring of their actions; we
 see their motives at work, and of course are prepared to
 judge of their conduct.

The Annals, as well as the History, have suffered by the
 barbarous rage, and more barbarous ignorance of the tribes
 that overturned the Roman empire. Part of the fifth book,
 containing three years of Tiberius, the entire four years
 of Caligula, the six first of Claudius, and the two last of
 Nero, have perished in the wreck of literature. We find
 that Tacitus intended, if his life and health continued, to
 review the reign of Augustus (1), in order to detect the
 arts by which the old constitution was overturned to make
 way for the government of a single ruler. This, in the
 hands of such a writer, would have been a curious portion

(1) *Cætera illius ætatis memorabo, si, effectis in quæ tendi, plures ad curas
 vitam produxero.* Annals, lib. iii. f. 24.

of history ; but it is probable that he did not live to carry his design into execution. The time of his death is not mentioned by any ancient author. It seems, however, highly probable that he died in the reign of Trajan, and we may reasonably conclude that he survived his friend Pliny. Those two writers were the ornaments of the age ; both men of genius ; both encouragers of literature ; the friends of liberty and virtue. The esteem and affection, with which Pliny thought of our author, is evident in several of his Letters, but nowhere more than in the following passage :

“ I never was touched with a more sensible pleasure, than
 “ by an account which I lately received from Cornelius
 “ Tacitus. He informed me that, at the last Circensian
 “ games, he sat next to a stranger, who, after much
 “ discourse on various subjects of learning, asked him if
 “ he was an Italian, or a provincial ? Tacitus replied, Your
 “ acquaintance with literature must have informed you who
 “ I am. Ay ! said the man ; pray then is it Tacitus or
 “ Pliny I am talking with ? I cannot express how highly
 “ I am pleased to find that our names are not so much the
 “ proper appellations of men, as a kind of distinction for
 “ learning itself (1).” Had Pliny been the survivor, he, who lamented the loss of all his friends, would not have failed to pay the last tribute to the memory of Tacitus.

(1) Nunquam majorem cepi voluptatem, quam nuper ex sermone Cornelii Taciti. Narrabat sedisse se cum quodam Circensibus proximis ; hunc post varios eruditosque sermones requisivisse, *Italicus es, an provincialis ?* Se respondisse, *Nôsti me equidem ex studiis.* Ad hoc illum : *Tacitus es, an Plinius ?* Expressere non possum, quàm sit jucundum mihi, quod nomina nostra quasi literarum propria, non hominum, litteris redduntur. Lib. ix. epist. 23.

The commentators assume it as a certain fact, that our author must have left issue; and their reason is, because they find that M. Claudius Tacitus, who was created emperor A. U. C. 1028, A. D. 275, deduced his pedigree from the great historian (1). That excellent prince was only shewn to the world. He was snatched away by a fit of illness at the end of six months, having crowded into that short reign a number of virtues. Vopiscus tells us, that he ordered the image of Tacitus, and a complete collection of his works, to be placed in the public archives, with a special direction that twelve copies should be made every year (2), at the public expence. But when the mutilated state, in which our author has come down to posterity, is considered, there is reason to believe that the orders of the prince were never executed.

No stone, and no sepulchral inscription has been found to tell where the remains of our author were deposited; but he, whose works are a lasting memorial, *monimentum ære perennius*, did not stand in need of perishable materials. All the powers that form and constitute a true genius, were his in an eminent degree. He had besides a thorough knowledge of all the modes of government then known in the world; he was versed in civil affairs; he knew the policy of statesmen, and he read men as well as books. With a mind thus prepared, he undertook to write the History of his own times. Before he entered on his task, it is evident that

(1) Vopiscus, Vita Taciti.

(2) Vopiscus, *ibidem*.

he had well considered the nature and importance of it. He agreed with Cicero, who says, “ It is the first law of history
 “ that the writer should neither dare to advance what is
 “ false, nor to suppress what is true ; that he should relate
 “ the facts with strict impartiality, free from ill-will or fa-
 “ vour ; that his narrative should distinguish the order of
 “ time, and, when necessary, give the description of places ;
 “ that he should unfold the statesman’s motives, and in his
 “ account of the transactions and the events, interpose his
 “ own judgment ; and should not only relate what was
 “ done, but how it was done ; and what share chance, or
 “ rashness, or prudence had in the issue : that he should give
 “ the characters of the leading men, their weight and in-
 “ fluence, their passions, their principles, and their conduct
 “ through life (1).” There can be no doubt but this was
 our author’s model, since we find him, in different parts of
 his work, laying down those very rules. But there was
 still a superior rule which Tacitus prescribed to himself,
 and which has been followed by few historians. He says
 expressly, “ that it is incumbent on the writer to re-judge
 “ the actions of men, to the end that the good and worthy

(1) Quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat ; ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis. Rerum ratio ordinem temporum desiderat, regionum descriptionem ; vult etiam, quoniam in rebus magnis memoriæque dignis, consilia primum, deinde acta, postea eventus expectantur, et de consiliis significari quid scriptor putet, et in rebus gestis declarari non solum quid actum, aut dictum sit, sed etiam quomodo ; et cum de eventu dicatur, ut causæ explicentur omnes, vel casus, vel sapientiæ, vel temeritatis ; hominumque ipsorum non solum res gestæ, sed etiam qui famâ ac nomine excellent, de cujusque vitâ, atque naturâ. De Orat. lib. ii. c. 62 and 63.

“ may meet with the reward due to eminent virtue, and
 “ that pernicious citizens may be deterred by the condem-
 “ nation that waits on evil deeds at the tribunal of poste-
 “ rity. In this consists the chief part of the historian’s
 “ duty (1).”

With this sublime idea, this grand moral principle, our author entered on his office, and no wonder that he has deserved to be styled the great historian of antiquity. To the generous and noble principle that guided his pen throughout his work, he united a fund of knowledge, and the colours of eloquence. Every short description is a picture in miniature: we see the person acting, speaking, or suffering: our passions are kept in a tumult of emotion; they succeed each other in quick vicissitude; they mix and blend in various combinations; we glow with indignation, we melt into tears. What a picture have we of Tiberius, the close, disguised, systematic tyrant! the slave in the isle of Caprea to his unnatural vices, and, amidst his pleasures, a prey to his own guilty conscience! We behold his inward torture, *the laniatus pectoris!* In what an amiable light is Germanicus represented! How noble his speech to the seditious soldiers! What landscape painter can equal the description of the field covered with the limbs of the legions slaughtered under Varus? And when at last we see Germanicus on his death-bed in Syria, can a more interesting and pathetic scene be presented to our imagination? When his wife, Agrippina, at the port of Brundisium, issues forth from the ship, leading her children, with the urn of Germanicus in her hand,

(1) See the quotation in the Title-page.

and

and her eyes fixed on that melancholy object, amidst the mournful, and, it may be said, the eloquent silence of spectators crowded on the walls, on tops of houses, and on the coast, can the terrible graces of that whole description be sufficiently admired? Messalina is represented in the truest colours; odious for her vices, detested for her crimes, yet, by the magic pencil of Tacitus, made in the end an object of compassion. When we see her in the gardens of Lucullus, stretched on the ground, with her mother weeping over her; when we hear that mother exhorting her to end her misery; when we see the daughter with a feeble arm aiming a poniard at her breast, yet irresolute, hesitating, unable to execute her purpose; and at last, with the assistance of the tribune, dying in the arms of her afflicted mother; we yield to the sensations of humanity; we pity the unhappy victim, and almost forgive her crimes. In the account of Agrippina, the mother of Nero, conducted from a ship-wreck to her own villa, and, after all the uproar of crowds and mariners on the sea-coast, terrified by the mournful silence all around her, we have a picture of distress that keeps the heart in agitation; and it may be asked, in the whole compass of History, is there any thing so truly affecting as her two last words, *Ventrem feri* (1)? The mother of Nero says to the centurion, Plunge your sword in my womb! An ingenious French critic has selected the passages in Homer that present subjects for the canvass of the artist; but it may safely be said, that a more interesting collection may be found in Tacitus. The wife of Arminius coming forth from the castle, where she was besieged with Segestes her father,

(1) Annals, xiv. f. 8.

presents a subject worthy of the finest painter. We see her before us, breathing the spirit of her husband, determined, silent, not a tear falling, with her eyes fixed on her womb, then pregnant with an infant to be born in slavery (1). To mention all the instances of a similar nature, were an endless task; for, in fact, the Annals may be called an historical picture gallery. It is by that magic power that Tacitus has been able to animate the dry regularity of the chronologic order, and to spread a charm through the whole, that awakens curiosity, and enchains attention. How different from the gazette style of Suetonius, who relates his facts in a calm unimpassioned tone, unmoved by the distress of injured virtue, and never rising to indignation. Tacitus, on the contrary, sits in judgment on the prince, the senate, the consuls, and the people; and he finds eloquence to affect the heart, and through the imagination to inform the understanding. The History of Tacitus is Philosophy teaching by examples.

It may be expected, that some notice should be taken of the objections which have been urged by the various writers, who have thought proper to place themselves in the chair of criticism. It has been truly said, that the people never leave any man, however great his merit, without a rival; *populus neminem sine amulo finit*. The same has happened in the republic of letters. Parties and factions prevail; the critics take the lead, and under their banners all are lifted;

(1) Inerant foeminae nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii, eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrymas, neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus, gravidum uterum intuens. Annals, i. f. 57.

some for Thucydides, some for Sallust, others for Livy and Polybius; all inflamed with animosity, and none attending to the specific qualities that distinguish the respective authors. The first charge exhibited against Tacitus is, that he has written bad Latin. This shall be answered by a writer who was master of as much elegance as can be attained in a dead language. “ Who, says Muretus, are we moderns, “ even if all, who have acquired great skill in the Latin lan- “ guage, were assembled in a body; who are we that pre- “ sume to pronounce against an author, who, when the “ Roman language still flourished in all its splendor (and it “ flourished to the time of Hadrian), was deemed the most “ eloquent orator of his time? When we reflect on the “ number of ancient authors whose works have been de- “ stroyed, which of us can pretend to say that the words, “ which appear new in Tacitus, were not known and used “ by the ancients? And yet, at the distance of ages, when “ the productions of genius have been well nigh extin- “ guished, we of this day take upon us, in a decisive tone, “ to condemn the most celebrated writers, whose cooks and “ mule-drivers understood the Latin language, and spoke “ it better than the most confident scholar of the present “ age (1).” If it be said that the quarrel is not with
single

(1) Qui nos sumus, si omnes in unum conferantur, quicunque hâc tempestate Latinè loqui videmur, ut de scriptore sapientissimo, nato iis temporibus, quibus adhuc Romana lingua florebat (planè enim floruit usque ad Hadrianum), habito discretissimo ætatis suæ, sinistrè judicare audeamus? Quis hodie affirmare audeat, cum tanta veterum scriptorum facta jactura sit, ea, quæ apud Tacitum nova videntur, non apud veteres quoque in usu fuisse? In tantâ veterum scriptorum dispersione, tam longo temporum intervallo, tantâ Latini sermonis oblivione, optimæ notæ

single words, but with phrases not to be found in other Latin authors; the charge may be admitted. Our author has frequent Grecisms, and the expression is not only florid, but often poetical. This, we know, was the *new way of writing* introduced by Seneca (1); and though Tacitus saw the false glitter and affected ornaments of that popular writer, and knew how to give to his own style more strength and gravity, it cannot be denied that he often aims at a more splendid diction than either Livy or Sallust.

The love of brevity, which distinguishes Tacitus from all other writers, was probably the consequence of his early admiration of Seneca; and, perhaps, was carried farther by that constant habit of close thinking, which could seize the principal idea, and discard all unnecessary appendages. Tacitus was sparing of words, and lavish of sentiment. Montesquieu says he knew every thing, and therefore abridged every thing. In the political maxims and moral reflections which, where we least expect it, dart a sudden light, yet never interrupt the rapidity of the narrative, the comprehensive energy of the sentence gives all the pleasure of surprise, while it conveys a deep reflection. The observations, which Quintilian calls *lumina sententiarum*, crowded fast on the author's mind, and he scorned to waste his strength in words; he gave the image in profile, and left the reader to take a round-about view. His style may be compared

scriptores damnare non veremur, quorum coqui et muliones multo melius quàm nos Latine et intelligebant et loquebantur. MURETUS, in an Oration, entitled, DEFENSIO TACITI.

(1) See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, vol. iv. p. 524.

to the mode adopted by Poppæa, who, we are told (1), wore a veil that shaded, or seemed to shade her face, lest her beauty, by being too much displayed, might tarnish in the eye of the public; or because that style of dress was graceful and becoming. It may be asked, Is Tacitus never obscure? He certainly is: his own laconic manner, and, it may be added, the omissions of the copyists, have occasioned some difficulties; but he, who has made himself familiar with the peculiarities of the style, will not be much embarrassed. By due attention to the context, the true, or at least the probable meaning may be always found. But still it may be said, that, in so long a work, one continued strain of studied brevity fatigues the ear, and tires the reader by an unvaried and disgusting monotony. Variety, it must be admitted, would give new graces to the narrative, and prevent too much uniformity. The celebrated Montagne observes, that Tacitus abounds with strong and vigorous sentences, often constructed with point and subtlety, agreeably to the taste of the age, which delighted in the gay and brilliant; and when those were not in the thought, the writer was sure to find an antithesis in the expression. And yet it is remarkable that the same writer, who owns that for twenty years together he read by fits and starts, tells us himself, that he read Tacitus a second time in one regular train without interruption.

The next allegation of the critics is, that Tacitus was a

(1) *Rarus in publicum egressus; idque velatâ parte oris, ne fatiaret aspectum, vel quia sic decebat.* Annals, xiii. f. 45. This remark is borrowed from Gordon: if another allusion of equal elegance can be found in his works, it has escaped the present writer.

misanthrope, who beheld human nature with a malignant eye, and, always suspecting the worst, falsified facts, in order to paint men worse than they were. The answer is obvious: Tacitus was fallen on evil times; he says, “A black and
 “evil period lies before me. The age was sunk to the
 “lowest depth of sordid adulation, insomuch that not only
 “the most illustrious citizens, in order to secure themselves,
 “were obliged to crouch in bondage; but even men of
 “consular and prætorian rank, and the whole senate tried,
 “with emulation, who should be the most obsequious
 “slave (1).” In such times, who could live free from suspicion? Tacitus knew the character of Tiberius; he was an accurate observer of mankind: but he must have been credulous indeed, or, like Velleius Paterculus, the willing dupe of a profligate court, if he had not laid open the secret motives of all, and traced their actions to their first principles. At the head of the critics, who have endeavoured to enforce the charge of falsehood and malevolence, stands Famianus Strada, the elegant author of the well known *Prolusiones Academicæ*, and the *Wars in Holland*, entitled, *De Bello Belgico*: but it will be sufficient, in answer to his laboured declamations, to say with Lord Bolingbroke, “He was a rhetor, who condemned Tacitus,
 “and presumed to write History himself.”

The imputation of atheism, which has been alledged by critics of more piety than discernment, is easily refuted.

(1) Tempora illa adeo infecta, et adulatione sordida fuere, ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum, qui præturâ functi, multique etiam pedarii senatores certatim exsurgerent, frædaque et nimia censerent. *Annals*, iii. f. 65.

Whatever

Whatever were our author's doubts concerning fate, free-will, and the influence of the planets, let the fine apostrophe to the departed spirit of Agricola (1) be perused with attention, and every sentiment will discover a mind impressed with the idea of an all-ruling Providence. There are many passages in the Annals and the History to the same effect: but more on this head is unnecessary. Nor does the paradox suggested by Boccalini deserve a longer discussion. That author gives it as his opinion, that the whole design of the Annals was to teach the arts of despotism: it may with as good reason be said, that Lord Clarendon wrote the History of the Grand Rebellion, with intent to teach schismatics, puritans, and republicans, how to murder their king.

The objections which have been stated, were the mere cavils of learned men, who hoped to gain reputation by the novelty of paradox. But paradox flutters for a short time, and the voice of Truth is heard. *Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.* Tacitus may be fairly called the anatomist of the heart. The passions, and, if the expression may be allowed, their antagonist muscles were perfectly known to him; he saw their inward workings, however disguised, and, being a strong colourist, he has painted the prominent features of all that rose to eminence by their vices or their virtue. As long as it shall be thought that *the proper study of mankind is man*, so long the Annals of Tacitus will be the school of moral as well as political knowledge.

An account of our author's works, from their appearance after the revival of letters, will not be thought improper.

(1) See Life of Agricola, f. 46.

The first edition was published at Venice by John De Spira, in the year 1468, containing the six last books of the Annals, four books of the History, with part of the fifth, the Treatise on the Manners of the Germans, and the Dialogue concerning Oratory. Another edition was published in a year or two after by Franciscus Puteolanus, more correct and elegant than the former, with the addition of the Life of Agricola. The six first books of the Annals had not then been found. Diligent search being made in all parts of Europe, they were at length discovered in the monastery of *Corwey* in *Westphalia*, situate on the banks of the *Visurgis*, or the *Wefer* (1). Leo X. the great patron of letters, purchased that valuable treasure, and, under his patronage,

(1) From the collection, called *Monumenta Paderbornensia*, the following little Poem, in honour of the place where the six first Annals were found, has been selected, and will perhaps be acceptable to the reader. The *VISURGIS* (now the *Wefer*) says: “The *AMISIUS* (*Ems*) may now flow through a waste of sand; “and the *LUPPIA* (the *Lippe*) may receive the tributary waters of the *Pader*; “while I, the *VISURGIS*, waft the commerce of the world into the heart of “Germany. My banks have been ennobled by the overthrow of Roman legions, “and the brave exploits of the *FRANCS*. But, alas! what should we now know “of the Romans, or of *ARMINIUS*, my own warlike chieftain, if Tacitus had “not recorded those transactions, and if the *Abbey of Corwey* had not, in return “for immortal glory, given life to Tacitus himself?”

Exferat Amisus steriles caput inter arenas,
Et Paderæ focias Luppia jactet aquas;
Solut ego patrias clarissimus amnis ad oras
Navibus externas porto Visurgis opes.
Nec me bella minus celebrant adversa Quiritum,
Quam quæ per Francos gesta fuere duces.
Sed quota pars rerum super esset, Roma, tuarum,
Aut quis Arminii nosceret arma mei,
Ni mihi quam Tacitus scriptor dedit inclytus, illi
Reddita Corbeix munere vita foret?

Beroaldus,

Beroaldus, in the year 1515, gave the world a complete edition of the whole. The manuscript, which had been found in Germany, was deposited in the Florentine library. Lipsius, whose labours have done much service to Tacitus, and great honour to himself, gave his edition at Antwerp, in the year 1574. He continued retouching and improving it, till death put an end to his studies in 1606, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. Gronovius published the Text and a laboured Commentary in 1672. The Delphin edition made its appearance at Paris in 1682. Ryckius gave his Notes at Leyden in 1687. A better edition of that work was printed in Dublin in 1730. The grandson of Gronovius gave an improved edition in 1721; but his coarse abuse of Ryckius, in the true style of a Dutch commentator, did him no honour. Ernest, a native of Germany, obliged the learned world with two valuable editions, one in 1752, the second in 1772. A beautiful edition by *Nicholas Lallemand* saw the light at Paris in 1759; but why the Dialogue concerning Eloquence was left out, no good reason was assigned.

At last, in the year 1771, was published at Paris, a noble edition of all the works of Tacitus, in four elegant quarto volumes, by GABRIEL BROTIER, with copious notes, and emendations of the original text, after a due examination of the manuscripts in the Vatican, at Paris, Oxford, and other places. Another edition of the same work, in seven volumes 12mo, was published in 1776.

After this account of the editors, the translators claim due notice. Almost all the nations of Europe have had

the ambition to make Tacitus a denizen of their country, and to hear him in their own language. The Germans and the Dutch boast of good translations. Spain is proud of three translators, and Italy has a greater number ; but the voice of Fame gives the preference to *Davanzati*, who is celebrated for a curious felicity of expression, that vies with the sententious brevity of the original.

The first French translation of any value was about the middle of the last century, by D'ABLANCOURT. His language is pure, elegant, and often nervous ; but he took the liberty sometimes to retrench, and, occasionally, to vary the sense of the original. The composition, however, flowed with so much ease and harmony, that the critics agreed to call it *La Belle Infidelle*.

AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE translated thirteen books of the Annals ; but his love of political reflection made him encumber his work with a load of notes, sometimes valuable, often frivolous, and too minute. He died at Paris in 1706. The work was continued by FRANCIS BRUYS at the Hague, 1731 ; but, as it seems, without success. Brotier says, that the last translator resembled the vices, not the virtues of his master : *Vitiis quam virtutibus similior*.

The critics of France were not satisfied with the state in which Tacitus was left. Their writers were determined to try their strength ; and, accordingly, a new translation by GUERIN, professor of eloquence in the university of Paris, was sent into the world in the year 1742. His work, though

though too loose and paraphractical, may be read with pleasure and advantage.

LA BLETTERIE published a translation of the Manners of the Germans, and the Life of Agricola, in the year 1755; and afterwards, in 1768, he added the six first Annals, with learned notes, but perhaps ostentatious, and too much drawn into length. After the death of LA BLETTERIE, Monsieur DOTTEVILLE, adopting part of his predecessor's work, gave a complete translation of all Tacitus, except the Dialogue concerning Oratory:

Dotteville had before him a model of close translation from the pen of D'Alembert, who gave select passages from Tacitus, endeavouring in every sentence to reach the precision and energy of the original. We see him, however, in a painful endeavour to vie with his author, and the style is harsh and dry.

The same may be said of the celebrated Rousseau, who has left a translation of the first book of the History, written with elaborate brevity, and those abrupt sentences, which the French call, *style coupé*. We look in vain for the graceful ease that charms in the original works of that pleasing author.

England has produced three translations; the first in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Greenway and Sir Henry Saville; the second, about one hundred years after, by Dryden and others; and the third by Gordon, under the patronage of Sir Robert Walpole. It were superfluous to say

say any thing of the two first translations. Gordon, to make way for himself, was at the pains of collecting a multiplicity of passages; and, since he has sufficiently abused them, peace be to their manes! With regard to Gordon, it is not the intention of the present writer to produce any specimens of his performance; that were to offer a few bricks as a sample of the building. Gordon shall be left to speak for himself: he says, “ Lord Carteret (afterwards Lord Granville), who understood Tacitus, and admired him, was pleased to think him not *unfit for it*, and gave him many just lights about the manner of *doing it*; that particularly about allowing himself *scope and freedom*, without which he was satisfied every translation must be *pedantic and cold*.” Thus encouraged, he employed himself in what he called *Conjectures concerning the present State of the English Tongue*, and kindly resolved to offer some *Observations upon Style*, which, he found, was far from being generally understood, though so many *pretend to be judges of it*. Having beheld the ignorance of the English nation with an eye of compassion, Mr. Gordon was as good as his word, determined that the public should have the benefit of his Reflections on the English Language. He says, “ I have little complaisance for those who think (if any who understand Tacitus can possibly think) that the *common English style* will at all suit that *uncommon writer*, whose manner is as peculiar and as affecting as his thoughts. His sentences are like PROVERBS, short, lively, and self-evident. Are PROVERBS, upon subjects of great dignity, usually expressed in the ordinary strain? Are they not therefore the more pathetic, and the more easily remembered, because they are couched in a particular

“ manner,

“ manner, turned *something like poetry*, and sometimes in an-
 “ *tiquated words*? Why is the language of the Book of Job,
 “ and of Ifaiah the Prophet, so much admired? Why is
 “ that of the *Proverbs of Solomon*, why that of the Son of
 “ Syrach, so much applauded? I will venture to say, that
 “ I have not expressed one phrase in the whole translation
 “ more remotely from the common way, than many of
 “ THOSE PROVERBS and SAYINGS are expressed; and though
 “ they be so expressed, nobody ever called them stiff, af-
 “ fected, or obscure.”

This was Gordon's grand secret, which he has generously
 communicated for the instruction of those who pretended
 to be judges of style. His practice, we may be sure, was
 conformable to his precepts. He says, “ I have sometimes
 “ ventured upon a new phrase (1), and *a way of my own*;
 “ upon drawing the *English idiom as near as possible to that of*
 “ *the Latin, and the genius of my author*, by leaving the
 “ beaten road, *dropping particles, transposing words*, and some-
 “ times *beginning a sentence where it is usual to end it*.” This
 surely may be called trying experiments upon language;
 but Gordon gives a notable reason for it: “ No words upon
 “ paper will have the same effect as words accompanied
 “ with a voice, looks, and action: hence the thoughts and
 “ language should be so far raised as to supply the want of
 “ those advantages.” In order, therefore, to give *colour*
and a body to the thought, Gordon thought the unnatural
 style the best; to be strong, he thought it necessary to be

(1) Nero was in love with Acte, an enfranchised slave: . Gordon's new phrase
 is, “ He *fell into a passion for her*.”

uncouth and turgid ; to supply the want of a voice and action, he chose to be distorted upon paper : and *in this way of his own* he was encouraged “ by some of the greatest “ men of the age, who, convinced by the reasons he had “ offered, and having a perfect taste of Tacitus, and understanding him as a statesman as well as a writer, were “ absolutely against any alterations in the manner of translating him.” Mr. Gordon’s friends might as well have told him, that no organs of speech can pronounce, with proper emphasis and energy, the sublime sentiments of Tacitus ; and therefore, in reading him to a circle of his acquaintance, he ought to make faces. Gordon, most certainly, took the advice of his patrons ; he imitated his favourite PROVERBS, and grimaced the language. The consequence is, that he produced a translation, in which one of the first writers of antiquity has been made, as Dr. Middleton expresses it, *to speak such English as an Englishman of taste would be ashamed to write on any original subject.*

A New Translation is now submitted to the Public. It will not become the Author to take up any time about himself or his performance. He has endeavoured to give a faithful transcript of the original, in *such English* as an *Englishman of taste* may read without disgust ; and if, in the transfusion, he has not suffered the spirit of Tacitus to evaporate, he will look back with pleasure to the years which he has dedicated to a great and arduous undertaking.

THE
ANNALS
OF
TACITUS.

VOL. I.

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These transactions include almost two years.

Years of Rome	—	of Christ	Consuls.
767		14	<i>Sextus Pompeius, Sextus Apuleius.</i>
768		15	<i>Drusus Cæsar, C. Norbanus Flaccus.</i>

T H E
A N N A L S
O F
T A C I T U S.
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I. **T**HE first form of government that prevailed at Rome was monarchy (*a*). Liberty and the consulship were established by Lucius Junius Brutus. Dictators were created in sudden emergencies only. The jurisdiction of the decemvirs did not extend beyond two years; and the consular authority of the military tribunes soon expired. The domination of Cinna ended in a short time; and that of Sylla was not of long duration. From Pompey and Crassus, the whole power of the state devolved to Julius Cæsar, and, after the struggle with Lepidus and Anthony, centered in Augustus; who, under the mild and well-known title of (*b*) PRINCE OF THE SENATE, took upon him the management of the commonwealth, enfeebled as it was by an exhausting series of civil wars. But the memorable transactions of the old

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old republic, as well in her day of adversity, as in the tide of success, have been recorded by writers of splendid genius. Even in the time of Augustus there flourished a race of authors, from whose abilities that period might have received ample justice: but the spirit of adulation growing epidemic, the dignity of the historic character was lost. What has been transmitted to us concerning Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, cannot be received without great mistrust. During the lives of those emperors, fear suppressed or disfigured the truth; and after their deaths, recent feelings gave an edge to resentment. For this reason, it is my intention shortly to state some particulars relating to Augustus, chiefly towards the close of his life; and thence to follow downward the thread of my narration through the reigns of Tiberius and his three immediate successors, free from animosity and partial affection, with the candour of a man who has no motives, either of love or hatred, to warp his integrity.

II. THE fate of Brutus and Cassius (*a*) being decided, the commonwealth had no longer an army engaged in the cause of public liberty. The younger Pompey received a total overthrow on the coast of Sicily; Lepidus was deprived of his legions; and Marc Anthony fell on his own sword. In that situation the partisans of Julius Cæsar had no leader but Octavius, who laid aside the invidious title of Triumvir, content with the more popular name of Consul, and with the tribunitian (*b*) power, which he professed to assume for the protection of the people. In a little time, when he had allured to his interest the soldiery by a profusion of largesses, the people by distributions of corn, and the minds of men in general by the sweets of peace, his views grew more aspiring. By degrees, and almost imperceptibly, he drew into his own hands the authority of the senate, the functions of the magistrates, and the administration of the laws. To these encroach-

ments no opposition was made. The true republican had perished, either in the field of battle, or by the rigour of proscriptions: of the remaining nobility, the leading men were raised to wealth and honours, in proportion to the alacrity with which they courted the yoke; and all who in the distraction of the times had risen to affluence, preferred immediate ease and safety to the danger of contending for ancient freedom. The provinces acquiesced under the new establishment, weary of the mixed authority of the senate and people; a mode of government long distracted by contentions among the great, and in the end rendered intolerable by the avarice of public magistrates; while the laws afforded a feeble remedy, disturbed by violence, defeated by intrigue, and undermined by bribery and corruption.

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III. IN this state of affairs, Augustus selected Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Agrippa, to prop and strengthen his administration. The former, who was his sister's son (*a*), and still a youth, he raised to the dignity of pontiff and ædile: on the latter, by his birth obscure, but eminent for military talents, and the companion of all his victories, he conferred the honour of two successive consulships; and in a short time after, upon the untimely death (*b*) of Marcellus, chose him for his son-in-law. Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, the sons of his wife Livia, were adorned with the title of IMPERATOR (*c*), though the succession in the house of Augustus was at that time well secured by other branches of the house of Cæsar. He had already adopted into the imperial family Caius and Lucius, the two sons of Agrippa; and to see them, even before they had put on the manly gown, considered as princes of the Roman youth, and marked out as future consuls, was his ardent desire; though, for political reasons, he chose to disguise his sentiments. To obtain those honours for his family was the wish of his heart; while, under a shew of coy reluctance,

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reluctance, he seemed to reject them. Agrippa departed this life; and in a short time after his two sons were cut off; Lucius Cæsar (*d*) on his road to join the army in Spain; and Caius on his return from Armenia, where he had received a wound that impaired his health. Whether they died by their own premature fate, or the machinations of their step-mother Livia, is to this day problematical. Drusus had paid his debt to nature, leaving Tiberius the only surviving son-in-law of the emperor. The current of court favour was now directed that way. He was adopted by Augustus, declared his colleague in the government, his associate in the tribunitian power, and shewn as the rising sun to the army; not, as before, by the secret arts of Livia, but with her open and avowed direction. Augustus was now in the decline of life, and Livia had gained unbounded influence over his affections. By her contrivance Agrippa Posthumus (*e*), the only surviving grandson of the emperor, was banished to the isle of Planasia (*f*). In praise of this young man much cannot be said: he was a stranger to the liberal arts, uncouth, unformed, and stupidly valuing himself on his bodily strength; yet free from vice, or the imputation of a crime.

At this time Germanicus, the immediate descendant of Drusus, was appointed to the command of eight legions on the Rhine. By the emperor's directions Tiberius adopted him as his son, though he had then issue of his own (*g*) growing up to manhood. The policy, no doubt, was to guard the succession with additional securities. Augustus, in that juncture, had no war upon his hands, that in Germany excepted; which was carried on, not with a view to extension of empire, or any solid advantage, but solely to expiate the disgrace incurred by the loss of Varus (*b*) and his legions. A perfect calm prevailed at Rome: the magistrates retained their ancient names; the younger part of the commu-

community were born since the battle at Actium (*i*), and the old
 during the civil wars: how many were then living, who had seen
 the constitution of their country?

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IV. THE government thus overthrown, nothing remained of ancient manners, or ancient spirit. Of independence, or the equal condition (*a*) of Roman citizens, no trace was left. All ranks submitted to the will of the prince, little solicitous about the present hour; while Augustus, in the vigour of health, maintained at once his own dignity, the honour of his house, and the public tranquillity. In process of time, when, worn with age, and failing under bodily infirmities, he seemed to approach the last act, a new scene presented itself to the hopes of men. Some amused themselves with ideas of ancient liberty, many dreaded the horrors of a civil war, and others wished for public commotion; the greater part discussed, with a variety of opinions, the character of the new masters at that moment impending over the state. "Agrippa was rude and savage; disgrace added to his natural ferocity; and, in point of age and experience, he was by no means equal to the weight of empire. Tiberius was matured by years; he had gained reputation in war: but the pride of the Claudian (*b*) family was inveterate in his nature, and his inbred cruelty, however suppressed with art, announced itself in various shapes. Trained up in the imperial house, in the very bosom of despotism, he had been inured from his youth to the pomp and pride of consulships and triumphs. During the years which he passed in a seeming retreat, but real exile, in the isle of Rhodes (*c*), he meditated nothing so much as plans of future vengeance, clandestine pleasures, and the arts of dissimulation." To these reflections the public added their dread of a mother raging with all the impotence of female ambition: a whole

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people, they said, were to be enslaved by a woman, and two young men (*d*), who in the beginning would hang heavy on the state, and in the end distract and rend it to pieces by their own dissensions.

V. WHILE these and other observations of a similar nature employed the public mind, the health of Augustus declined apace. The wickedness of his wife was not supposed to remain inactive. A rumour prevailed, that Augustus had gone a few months before, in a private manner, with a select party, and Fabius Maximus, his confidential friend, to the island of Planasia, on a visit to Agrippa. The meeting was said to be of the tenderest nature: tears were shed by both, and a scene of mutual affection followed. From that interview hopes were conceived, that the young prince would be once more restored to the favour and protection of his grandfather. The secret soon transpired: Fabius communicated the whole to his wife Marcia, and by her it was conveyed to Livia. Augustus knew that he had been betrayed. Maximus died soon after, perhaps, by his own hand: but of that nothing can be said with certainty. At his funeral Marcia was heard, in the vehemence of distress and sorrow, to accuse herself of being accessory to the death of her husband. However that may be, Tiberius had scarcely set foot in Illyricum, when he received dispatches from his mother, requiring his immediate presence. He arrived at Nola: but whether Augustus was still living, or had breathed his last, must be left in doubt. By Livia's order the palace and all the avenues were closely guarded: favourable accounts were issued from time to time; and with that artifice mankind was amused, till all proper measures were concerted. At length the same report that announced the death of Augustus, proclaimed Tiberius in possession of the supreme power.

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VI. THE first exploit of the new reign was the murder of Agrippa Posthumus. A centurion of undaunted resolution attacked him by surprise. Though unprovided with arms, the young man did not easily yield: he fell after a stout resistance. Of this event Tiberius made no report to the senate, content with hinting a pretended order of his deceased father, by which the centurion, charged with the custody of Agrippa's person, was commanded to dispatch him, as soon as the emperor breathed his last. Augustus, it is true, had arraigned the character and conduct of the young man in terms of asperity; he had even banished him by a decree of the senate: but it is equally true, that he never imbrued his hands in the blood of his kindred; nor is it probable that, for the security of a step-son, he would have doomed to death a descendant from himself. The stronger presumption is, that Tiberius and Livia, the former impelled by his dread of a rival, and the latter by the malice of a step-mother, were accomplices in the murder. When the assassin, in the military phrase, reported to Tiberius, that what he had given in orders was duly executed, the reply of the new emperor was, that he had given no such orders, and for what was done the centurion must answer before the senate.

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A disavowal so very extraordinary gave the alarm to (a) Sallustius Crispus, a minister then in favour, and trusted with the secrets of the court. The warrant for the execution had passed through his hands. He dreaded a public examination; well aware that, whether he disclosed the truth, or attempted to disguise it, his own danger would, in either case, be precisely the same. To ward off the blow, he remonstrated to Livia, that the secret councils of the imperial family, the conduct of ministers, and the actions of the centurions, ought to be veiled from the public eye. By referring too much to the senate, the prince

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would weaken his own authority: that men should be accountable to the sovereign only, was a branch of the imperial prerogative; and if Tiberius departed from it, he ceased to reign.

VII. AT Rome, in the mean time, all things tended to a state of abject servitude. Consuls, senators, and Roman knights contended with emulation, who should be the most willing slaves. The higher each person's rank, the more he struggled for the foremost place in bondage. All appeared with a studied countenance. An air of gaiety might dishonour the memory of Augustus, and sadness would ill besit the opening of a new reign. A motley farce was acted; and grief and joy, distress and flattery, succeeding by turns, were curiously mixed and blended. The oath of (*a*) fidelity to Tiberius was taken first by the two consuls, Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, and by them administered to Seius Strabo and Caius (*b*) Turranius; the former, præfect of the prætorian bands; the latter, controller of the corn and public stores. Their example was followed by the senate, the army, and the mass of the people.

To make every thing move from the consuls, was the policy of Tiberius. He affected the appearance of republican principles, as if the constitution still subsisted, and he himself had formed no design to destroy it. The very proclamation, by which he convened the senate, professed no other authority than that of the tribunitian power conferred upon him by Augustus. The proclamation itself was short, and penned in modest terms; importing, "that the business of the meeting was, to decree funeral honours to his deceased father: as to himself, he could not leave the body; that office of piety was the only function that he presumed to exercise." This was, indeed, the language of moderation; but Augustus was no sooner dead, than he assumed the
supreme

supreme authority: in his character of imperator, he took upon him the whole military command; he gave the word to the prætorian (*c*) guards; sentinels were stationed round the palace; the soldiers appeared under arms; the magnificence of a court was seen in all its forms; guards attended him to the forum; guards conducted him to the senate-house; all things announced the (*d*) sovereign. In his dispatches to the army, he was already the successor of Augustus: he spoke the style and language of a recognized emperor, without reserve, and in the tone of power, equivocal only when he addressed the senate.

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The fact was, Tiberius dreaded Germanicus. A commander in chief, who had so many legions under his direction, who had formed connections with the allies of Rome, and was besides the idol of the people, might choose to seize the government, rather than linger in expectation. For this reason the fathers were to be managed. There was at the bottom another motive: if, in appearance, he owed his elevation, not to the intrigues of an ambitious mother, or the adoption of a superannuated emperor, but to the voice of the people, it would redound more to his glory. The opportunity was also fair to pry into the temper and dispositions of the leading senators. The event shewed that his indecision was policy in disguise. He noted the words of men; he watched their looks; warped every circumstance into a crime; and, hoarding all in his memory, gathered rancour for a future day.

VIII. AT the first meeting of the senate, the funeral of Augustus was the only subject of debate. The emperor's will was brought forward by the (*a*) vestal virgins. Tiberius and Livia were declared his heirs. The latter was adopted into the Julian family, with the additional title of AUGUSTA. His grandchildren and their issue were next in succession; in the third degree he

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he named the nobles of Rome: not indeed from motives of personal regard, for the greater part had been for a long time obnoxious; but a bequest so generous and magnificent might gain the applause of future ages. In the rest of his legacies the will was in the style of a Roman citizen: if we except the clauses, whereby he gave to the Roman people four hundred thousand great sesterces (*b*), to the inferior commonalty five-and-thirty thousand, to each prætorian foldier one thousand small sesterces, and to every common man belonging to the legions three hundred, he affected neither pomp nor grandeur. The will being read, the funeral honours were taken into consideration. The chief propositions were, that *the procession should pass through the triumphal gate*; this was moved by Asinius Gallus: *that the titles of all the laws of Augustus, and the names of the conquered nations, should be carried before the body*, was the motion of Lucius Arruntius. Valerius Messala was of opinion, that *the oath of fidelity to Tiberius should be renewed every year*; and being thereupon interrogated by the prince, whether that motion was made with his privity? *I made it*, said Messala, *upon my own suggestion; in matters of public concern, however it may give umbrage, the conviction of my own heart shall be the only rule of my conduct*. The age had left no other mode of flattery. The senate with one voice insisted, that the body should be borne to the funeral pile upon their own shoulders. Tiberius assented with seeming condescension, but real arrogance. The Field of Mars was the place appointed for the ceremony. A proclamation was issued, warning the populace to restrain their zeal, and not require that the last duties should be performed in the Forum, as had been done with tumult and disorder at the funeral of Julius Cæsar.

On the day appointed for the ceremony, the foldiers were drawn up under arms; a circumstance that served only to provoke

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the ridicule of all who remembered the day, or heard of it from their fathers, when Cæsar the dictator was put to death. In that early period of slavery, and in the first emotions of joy for liberty in vain recovered, the blow for freedom seemed a murder to some, and to others a glorious sacrifice. But in the present juncture, when a prince worn out with age, who had grown grey in power, and left a long train of heirs, was to receive the last funeral obsequies, at such a time to call forth the military, in order to secure a quiet interment, was a vain parade, as ridiculous as it was unnecessary.

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IX. AUGUSTUS now became the subject of public discussion. Frivolous circumstances engaged the attention of the greater number. They observed that the anniversary of his accession to the imperial dignity, was the day of his death. He died at Nola, in the same house, and in the same chamber, where Octavius his father breathed his last. They called to mind, in wonder and amaze, the number of his (*a*) consulships, equal to those of Valerius Corvinus and Caius Marius put together. The Tribunician power continued in his hands during a series of seven-and-thirty years; he was saluted IMPERATOR no less than one-and-twenty times; and other titles of distinction were either invented or revived, to adorn his name. Reflections of a different kind were made by thinking men. They rejudged the life of the emperor, and pronounced with freedom. By his apologists it was argued, “that filial piety to his adoptive father, the distraction of
“the times, and the ruin of the laws, made the part he took in
“the civil wars an act of necessity; and civil war can neither be
“undertaken nor conducted on principles of honour and strict
“justice. To revenge the death of Julius Cæsar, was the primary
“motive. To obtain that end, he made concessions to Anthony,
“and he temporized with Lepidus: but when the latter grew
“grey

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“grey in cloth, and the former fell a victim to his voluptuous
 “passions, the commonwealth, convulsed by party divisions, had
 “no resource but the government of one. There was, however,
 “no monarchy, no dictator: content with the unassuming title
 “of Prince of the Senate, he established peace, and settled the
 “constitution. The ocean and far distant rivers (*b*) marked the
 “boundaries of the empire. The legions, the provinces, and the
 “fleets of Rome acted in concert, with all the strength of system.
 “Justice was duly administered at home; the allies were treated
 “with moderation; and magnificent structures rose to adorn the
 “capital. Violent measures were rarely adopted, and never but
 “for the good of the whole.”

X. To this it was answered, “Filial piety, and the distraction
 “of the times, were nothing but a colour to varnish over the lust
 “of dominion. It was the ambition of Augustus that gained the
 “veterans by a profusion of largesses; it was ambition that raised
 “an army, when he was yet a young man, and in a private sta-
 “tion. By bribery and corruption he seduced to himself the forces
 “of the consuls. To the friends of Pompey’s party he wore a
 “mask, affecting republican principles: he deceived the senate;
 “and by an extorted decree possessed himself of the fasces, and
 “the prætorian authority. How long did the consuls Hirtius
 “and Pansa (*a*) survive that event? They were both cut off.
 “Did they fall by the hand of the enemy? Who can be certain
 “that Pansa did not die by poison infused into his wound, and
 “Hirtius by the treachery of his own soldiers? If that was their
 “fate, is it clear that Augustus was not an actor in that scene of
 “iniquity? That he put himself at the head of both their armies,
 “is a fact well known. Having extorted the consulship (*b*)
 “from a reluctant senate, he threw off the mask, and turned
 “against the commonwealth the arms which had been entrusted

“ to

“to him in the cause of liberty against Mark Anthony (*c*).
 “What shall be said of the fury of proscriptions? He seized the
 “lands of Roman citizens (*d*), and divided them among his
 “creatures. These were acts of violence, to this hour unjustified
 “even by those who advised the measure.

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“To atone for the death of a father, Brutus and Cassius fell a
 “sacrifice: so far, perhaps, may be allowed; but whether that
 “deadly feud, when the good of the commonwealth required it,
 “might not have been, to his immortal honour, appeased in silence,
 “may still be made a question. Be it as it may, the younger
 “Pompey was ruined by an insidious peace, and Lepidus was
 “undone by treachery. Mark Anthony relied upon the treaties
 “of Tarentum (*e*) and Brundisium: he went further; he mar-
 “ried the sister of Augustus; and, in consequence of that insidious
 “alliance, lost his life. Peace, it is true, was soon after establish-
 “ed: but what kind of peace? The slaughter of Lollius (*f*) and
 “Varus stained it in Germany; and the massacre of the Varros (*g*),
 “the Egnatii, and the Julii, made Rome a theatre of blood.”

From the public conduct of Augustus, a transition was made
 to his domestic character. “Livia was taken by force from
 “Tiberius Nero, her lawful husband; she was then advanced in
 “her pregnancy: whether in that condition she was under a
 “legal disability to contract a second marriage, was indeed re-
 “ferred to the pontifical college; but that very reference was a
 “mockery, that turned all religion to a jest. His two favourites,
 “Quintus Tediū (*h*) and Vedius Pollio, were distinguished by no-
 “thing but riot and debauchery. To crown the whole, Livia ruled
 “him with unbounded sway; to the commonwealth a fatal em-
 “press, and to the Cæsarian family a pernicious step-mother. The
 “honours due to the gods were no longer sacred: Augustus (*i*)

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“ claimed equal worship. Temples were built, and statues were
 “ erected, to him : a mortal man was adored, and priests and pon-
 “ tiffs were appointed to pay him impious homage. In calling
 “ Tiberius to the succession, he neither acted from motives of
 “ private affection, nor of regard for the public welfare. He
 “ knew the arrogance and innate cruelty of the man, and from
 “ the contrast hoped to derive new lustre on himself.” That
 he knew the inward frame and cast of Tiberius, appears from a
 fact that happened a few years before. The business of grant-
 ing to that prince a renewal of the tribunitian power, was de-
 pending in the senate. Augustus, in his speech upon that occa-
 sion, made honourable mention of him ; but, at the same time,
 threw out oblique reflections on his conduct, his deportment, and
 his manners. With affected tenderness he seemed willing to pal-
 liate all defects ; but the malice of the apology wounded the
 deeper.

XI. THE rites of sepulture being performed, a temple and re-
 ligious worship were decreed to the memory of Augustus. The
 senate now turned their supplications to Tiberius. A direct an-
 swer could not be drawn from him. “ He talked of the mag-
 “ nitude and the weight of empire ; he mistrusted his own abi-
 “ lities : the comprehensive mind of Augustus was, indeed, equal
 “ to the charge ; but for himself, called as he had been by that
 “ emperor to a share in the administration, he knew by expe-
 “ rience, that, to direct the affairs of a great nation, was to be in a
 “ state of painful pre-eminence, exposed to danger, and subject to
 “ the vicissitudes of fortune. In a city so well provided with men
 “ of illustrious character, was it advisable to confide the whole
 “ to a single ruler ? The several departments of public business
 “ would be better filled by a coalition of the best and ablest citizens.”
 In this strain Tiberius delivered himself, with dignity of senti-
 ment,

ment, it is true, but nothing from the heart. A profound master of dissimulation, he had from nature, or the force of habit, the art of being dark and unintelligible. Even upon occasions when duplicity was useless, he spoke in short and broken hints, the sense suspended, mysterious, and indecisive. Intending at present to conceal his sentiments (*a*), he was of course more involved than ever. The senators, dreading nothing so much as the crime of knowing his character, broke out in a strain of supplication; they melted into tears; they poured forth entreaties; with uplifted hands they looked to the gods; they turned to the statue of Augustus, and at times fell prostrate at the knees of Tiberius. Thus surrounded, he called for a state-paper, and ordered it to be read (*b*). It set forth an estimate of the empire and its resources, the number of citizens, the allies of Rome, an account of the naval strength, the names of the conquered kingdoms and provinces; the subsidies, tributes, and the amount of the revenue, with the necessary disbursements of government, and the demands for secret service. The whole was in the hand-writing of Augustus. It concluded with his advice, never to aim at an extension of empire: an important rule of policy; but was it the result of wisdom? or did he view with a malignant eye the fame that might accrue to his successor?

XII. THE senate still continuing, with prostrate fervility, to press their suit, Tiberius let fall an expression, intimating that, though unequal to the whole, he was willing to undertake any part that might be committed to his care. Inform us, Cæsar, said Asinius Gallus (*a*), what part do you chuse? Disconcerted by so unexpected a question, Tiberius paused for a moment; but soon collecting himself, "To chuse," he said, "or to decline any part, would ill become the man who wished to be dispensed with altogether." Gallus saw displeasure working in his countenance. With quickness and presence

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of mind he made answer, "The question was not put with intent to divide what in its nature is united and indivisible. I appealed to your own feelings. I wished to draw from you a confession, that the commonwealth, being one body politic, requires one mind to direct it." To this he added a panegyric on the character of Augustus; he expatiated on the victories obtained by Tiberius, and the civil employments which he had filled, with honour to himself, during a series of years. But this soothing strain had no effect. The resentment of Tiberius was not to be pacified. Asinius Gallus had married Vipfania(*b*), the daughter of Marcus Agrippa, after her divorce from Tiberius. By that connection he seemed to aspire above the rank of a citizen; and the spirit of his father, Asinius Pollio, was still living in the son.

XIII. LUCIUS ARRUNTIVS (*a*) delivered his sentiments, nearly the same as Gallus had offered, and in like manner gave offence. Tiberius harboured in his breast no lurking resentment to Arruntius; but he was jealous of a man, whom he saw flourishing in opulence, an ardent spirit, possessed of talents, and high in the esteem of the public. Augustus, moreover, in a conversation not long before his death, talking of the succession to the imperial dignity, distinguished three several classes: in the first, he placed such as were worthy, but would decline the honour; in the second, men of ambition, but of inferior talents; in the last, such as had genius to plan, and courage to undertake. Marcus Lepidus (*b*), he said, was every way qualified, but unwilling; Asinius Gallus had more ambition than merit; Lucius Arruntius was not only equal to the task, but, if occasion offered, would shew a spirit of enterprise. Of this anecdote, with regard to the two first, no doubt remains; but instead of Arruntius, Cneius Piso by some writers is said to have been named. Except Lepidus, they were afterwards all cut off for constructive crimes, artfully laid to their charge by Tiberius.

rius. In the course of the debate, Quintus Haterius and Mamercus Scaurus had the misfortune to alarm that gloomy and suspicious temper: the first, by asking "How long is it your pleasure, Cæsar, that the commonwealth shall want a head to direct it?" Scaurus, by saying, "Since the prince has not interposed the tribunitian (*c*) authority to prevent the report of the consuls, there is room to hope that he will yield to the entreaties of the senate." Tiberius took fire at what was said by Haterius, and broke out with sudden vehemence: to Scaurus he made no reply; resentment had taken root in his heart, and for that reason was smothered in silence.

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Fatigued at length by the clamours of the senate, and the solicitation of individuals, he gave way by degrees: not expressly declaring his consent; but, as he said, to end the mutual trouble of repeated refusals and unwearied importunity. It may be related as a fact, that Haterius, on the following day, attending at the palace, to mitigate resentment by an apology, narrowly escaped being put to death by the guards. In a suppliant posture he clasped the emperor's knees; and in that moment Tiberius, entangled perhaps by the petitioner, or making a false step, fell to the ground. This provoked the soldiers upon duty. Haterius was saved from their fury: but the danger that threatened a man of his illustrious character, made no impression on the prince; nor did he relent till Livia exerted all her power and influence. Tiberius yielded at length to the solicitations of his mother.

XIV. THE senate, at their next meeting, began to offer the incense of adulation to Livia. It was proposed to confer upon her the title of PARENT; that name was thought too general: the more distinctive appellation of MOTHER OF HER COUNTRY was moved as an amendment. It was further proposed, with the general

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neral concurrence, that to the name of the Emperor should be added, THE SON OF JULIA. Tiberius opposed these several motions: honours, he said, ought not to be lavished on women; in what regarded his own rank, he was determined to act with the strictest self-denial. This had the appearance of moderation, but envy was the source. By the honours intended to his mother, he thought his own glory might be eclipsed, and, in that spirit, prevented a decree, by which a lictor (*a*) was ordered to attend her; nor would he suffer an altar (*b*) to be raised on account of her adoption into the Julian family. Other marks of distinction were proposed, and rejected. Germanicus was more favourably treated: for him Tiberius desired the rank of proconsul (*c*). Special messengers were sent to invest him with his honours, and at the same time to condole with him on the loss of Augustus. Drusus (*d*) was then at Rome; and, being consul designed, in his favour nothing new was demanded. By virtue of the imperial prerogative, twelve candidates were named for the prætorship. That number had been settled by Augustus; and though the senate entreated Tiberius to enlarge the list, he bound himself by an oath never to exceed (*e*) the line already drawn.

XV. THE right of electing magistrates, by public suffrage, in the Field of Mars (*a*), was now, for the first time, taken from the people at large, and vested in the senate. The will of the prince had, before that time, great influence in all elections; but parties were formed among the tribes, and sometimes with success. To this encroachment the people made no opposition: they saw their rights taken from them; they grumbled, and submitted. The senators were pleased with the change. They were now delivered from the necessity of humiliating condescensions in the course of their canvasses, and from the heavy expence of bribery and corruption. The moderation of Tiberius was a further circumstance in favour of the

the measure: four candidates of his nomination were implicitly to be chosen, without intrigue or contention; and the prince, content with that number, promised not to stretch his prerogative. The tribunes of the people applied for leave to celebrate, at their own expence, the games newly instituted in honour of Augustus, and ordered to be added to the calendar, under the title of Augustan Games. A decree passed; but the expence was to issue out of the treasury. The tribunes were allowed to preside in the Circus, dressed in (*b*) triumphal robes, but the pomp of splendid chariots was expressly denied. The annual celebration of those games was afterwards transferred, from the tribunes, to that particular prætor who has jurisdiction in all causes between (*c*) strangers and the citizens of Rome.

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XVI. SUCH was the situation of affairs at Rome, when a fierce and violent mutiny broke out among the legions in Pannonia. For this insurrection there was no other motive than the licentious spirit, which is apt to shew itself in the beginning of a new reign, and the hope of private advantage in the distractions of a civil war. A summer-camp had been formed for three legions, under the command of Junius Blæsus. The death of Augustus, and the accession of Tiberius, being known to the army, the General granted a suspension of (*a*) military duty, as an interval of grief or joy. The soldiers grew wanton in idleness; dissensions spread amongst them; the vile and profligate had their circular audiences; sloth and pleasure prevailed; and all were willing to exchange a life of toil and discipline, for repose and luxury. There happened to be in the camp a busy incendiary, by name Percennius, formerly a leader of theatrical factions (*b*), and now a common soldier; a man fluent in words, and by his early habits versed in the arts of exciting tumult and sedition. Over the weak and ignorant, and such as felt their minds alarmed with doubts

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and fears about the future condition of the service, this pragmatical fellow began to exert his influence. In the dead of night he mixed in cabals; and never failed at the close of day, when the sober and well disposed retired to their tents, to draw together the idle and most abandoned. Having gained a number of profelytes, he stood forth the orator of sedition, and harangued his confederates in the following manner :

XVII. “ How long, my fellow soldiers, must we obey a
 “ small and despicable set of centurions? how long continue
 “ slaves to a wretched band of military tribunes? If we mean to
 “ redress our grievances, what time so fit as the present, when the
 “ new emperor is not yet settled on his throne? Relief may now
 “ be obtained either by remonstrances, or sword in hand. By
 “ our passive spirit we have suffered enough; we have been slaves
 “ in thirty or forty (*a*) campaigns; we are grown grey in the
 “ service, worn out with infirmities, and covered with wounds.
 “ In that condition we are still condemned to the toils of
 “ war. Even the men who have obtained their discharge, still
 “ follow the standard, under the name of veterans (*b*); another
 “ word for protracted misery. A few, indeed, by their bodily
 “ vigour have surmounted all their labours; but what is their re-
 “ ward? they are sent to distant regions; and, under colour of an
 “ allotment of lands, they are settled on a barren mountain, or
 “ a swampy fen. War of itself is a state of the vilest drudgery,
 “ without an adequate compensation. The life and limb of a soldier
 “ are valued at (*c*) ten pence a day: out of that wretched pittance
 “ he must find his clothing, his tent equipage, and his arms; with
 “ that fund, he must bribe the centurion; with that, must
 “ purchase occasional exemptions from service; and, with that,
 “ must pay for a remission of punishment. But blows and stripes
 “ from our officers, wounds from the enemy, intense cold in
 “ winter,

“ winter, and the fatigue of summer-campaigns ; destructive war,
 “ in which every thing is hazarded, and peace, by which nothing
 “ is gained, are all the soldier’s portion.

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“ For these evils there is but one remedy left. Let us fix the
 “ conditions of our service ; let every soldier receive a denarius (*d*)
 “ a day, and at the end of sixteen years let him be entitled to
 “ his dismissal: beyond that term no further service. Without
 “ detaining any man whatever, and without forcing him to follow
 “ the colours as a veteran, let every soldier receive the arrears that
 “ may be due to him ; let him be paid in ready money on the
 “ spot, and in the very camp where he signalized his valour.
 “ The prætorian cohorts receive two denarii for their daily pay ;
 “ at the end of sixteen years they return to their families: and
 “ is superior merit the ground of this distinction? do they en-
 “ counter greater dangers? It is theirs to mount guard within the
 “ city, and the service may be honourable ; but it is our lot to
 “ serve amidst savage nations, in a state of perpetual warfare. If
 “ we look out of our tents, the barbarians are in view.”

XVIII. THIS speech was received with acclamations. Various
 passions heaved in every breast. Some presented their bodies
 seamed with stripes ; others pointed to their heads grown grey in
 the service ; numbers shewed their tattered clothing, and their per-
 sons almost naked. At length the phrenzy of the malecontents
 knew no bounds. Their first design was to incorporate the three
 legions into one ; but which should give its name to the united
 body, was the question : mutual jealousy put an end to the pro-
 ject. Another scheme took place : the eagles of the three legions,
 with the colours of the cohorts, were crowded together without
 preference or distinction. They threw up sods of earth, and
 began to raise a tribunal. Amidst the tumult Blæsus arrived :

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he called aloud to all; he laid hold of individuals; he offered himself to their swords; and “Here,” he said, “behold your victim: imbrue your hands in the blood of your general. Murder is a crime less horrible than treason to your prince. I will either live to command the legions entrusted to me: or, if you are determined to revolt, dispatch me first; that, when this phrenzy is over, you may wake to shame, to horror, and remorse.”

XIX. THE work of raising a tribunal, in spite of all his efforts, still went on. Heaps of turf were thrown up, and rose breast-high. Conquered at length by the perseverance of their general, the mutineers desisted. Blæsus exerted all his eloquence: “Sedition and revolt,” he said, “could not serve their cause: the remonstrances of the army ought to be conveyed to the ear of the prince with respect and deference. The demands which they now made were of the first impression, unknown to former armies, and with the deified Augustus never attempted. In the present juncture, when the prince was new to the cares of government, was that a time to add to his solicitude by tumult and insurrection? If they would still persist, in the season of profound peace, to urge a claim never demanded even by the conquerors in a civil war, why incur the guilt of rebellion? why, in violation of all military discipline, urge their pretensions sword in hand? They might depute their agents to treat with the prince; and, in the presence of their general, they might give their instructions on the spot.” This proposal was accepted: with one voice they called out for the son of Blæsus, then a military tribune. The young officer undertook the charge. His directions were to insist that, at the expiration of sixteen years, the foldier should be discharged from the service. That point settled, it would then be time to enumerate other grievances. With this commission the general’s son went forward on his

his journey. A calm succeeded, and lasted for some days. But the minds of the soldiers were still in agitation: their pride was roused; the general's son was now the orator of the army; and force, it was manifest, had at length extorted, what by gentle measures could never be obtained.

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XX. MEANWHILE, the detached companies (*a*) which before the disturbance had been sent to Nauportum to repair the roads, the bridges, and other military works, having heard of the commotions in the camp, seized the colours; and, after ravaging the adjacent villages, plundered Nauportum, a place little inferior to a municipal town. They treated the centurions with derision; from derision they proceeded to opprobrious language; and, in the end, to blows and open violence. Aufidienus Rufus, the præfect of the camp, was the chief object of their fury: they dragged him out of his carriage; and, laying a heavy load on his back, obliged him to march in the foremost ranks, asking him with contemptuous insolence how he liked his burthen, and the length of his journey? Rufus had risen from a common man to the rank of centurion, and was afterwards made præfect of the camp. In that station he endeavoured to recal the rigour of ancient discipline. A veteran in the service, and long inured to fatigue, he was strict and rigorous in his duty, expecting from others what he had practised himself.

XXI. THE return of this tumultuous body renewed the troubles of the camp. The soldiers without controul issued out of the lines, and pillaged the country round. Some, more heavily loaded with booty than their comrades, were apprehended by the orders of Blæsus; and, after receiving due correction, thrown into prison, as an example to the rest. The authority of the general was still in force with the centurions, and such of the common

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men as retained a sense of their duty. The delinquents, however, refused to submit; they were dragged along, resisting with all their strength; they clasped the knees of the multitude round them; they called upon their fellow soldiers by name; they implored the protection of the company to which they belonged; they invoked the cohorts and the legions, crying out to all, that the same lot would shortly be their portion. Against their general they omitted nothing that calumny could suggest; they appealed to heaven; they implored the gods; they tried, by every topic, to excite compassion, to inflame resentment, to awaken terror, and rouse the men to acts of violence. A general insurrection followed: the soldiers in a body rushed to the prison, burst the gates, unchained the prisoners, and associated with themselves the vilest of the army, a band of deserters, and a desperate crew of malefactors, then under condemnation for the enormity of their crimes.

XXII. THE flame of discord raged with redoubled fury. New leaders joined the mutiny. Amidst the crowd, one of the common soldiers, a fellow known by the name of Vibulenus, mounted on the shoulders of his comrades before the tribunal of Blæsus, and addressed the multitude, all wild with fury, and eager to hear the language of sedition. “My friends,” he said, “you have bravely interposed to save the lives of these innocent, these much injured men. You have restored them to new life. But who will restore my brother? who will give him to my arms? Sent hither from the German army, in concert with you to settle measures for our common safety, he was last night basely murdered by the band of gladiators (*a*) whom Blæsus arms for your destruction. Answer me, Blæsus, where have you bestowed the body? The very enemy allows the rites of sepulture. When I have washed my brother with my tears,

“and

“ and printed kisses on his mangled body, then plunge your
 “ poignard in this wretched bosom. I shall die content, if these
 “ my fellow soldiers perform the last funeral office, and bury in
 “ one grave two wretched victims, who knew no crime but that
 “ of serving the common interest of the legions.”

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XXIII. THIS speech Vibulenus rendered still more inflammatory by the vehemence of his manner, by beating his breast, by striking his forehead, and pouring a flood of tears. A way being opened through the crowd, he leaped from the men's shoulders, and groveling at the feet of individuals, excited the passions of the multitude to the highest pitch of phrenzy. In their fury some fell upon the gladiators retained by Blæsus, and loaded them with irons; others seized the general's domestic train; while numbers dispersed themselves on every side in quest of the body: and if it had not been speedily known that no corpse could be found; that the slaves of Blæsus averred under the torture that no murder had been committed; and, in fact, that the incendiary never had a brother, Blæsus must have fallen a sacrifice. The tribunes, and the præfect of the camp, were obliged to save themselves by flight. Their baggage was seized and plundered. Lucilius the centurion was put to death. This man, by the sarcastic pleasantries of the soldiers, had been nick-named GIVE ME ANOTHER; because, in chastising the soldiers, when one rod was broke, he was used to call for ANOTHER, and then ANOTHER. The rest of the centurions lay concealed in lurking places. Out of the whole number Julius Clemens, a man of prompt and busy talents, was the favourite of the insurgents. He was spared as a fit person to negotiate the claims of the army. Two of the legions, the eighth and fifteenth, were upon the point of coming to the decision of the sword: the former bent on the destruction of Sirpicus, a centurion; and the latter determined to protect him.

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him. The quarrel would have laid a scene of blood, if the soldiers of the ninth legion had not, by entreaty, or by menacing the obstinate, appeased the fury of both parties.

XXIV. WHEN the account of these transactions reached Tiberius, that abstruse and gloomy temper, which loved to brood in secret over all untoward events, was so deeply affected, that he resolved, without delay, to dispatch his son Drusus, with others of high rank, and two prætorian cohorts, to quell the insurrection. In their instructions no decisive orders were given: they were left to act as emergencies might require. To the cohorts was added a select detachment, with a party of the prætorian horse, and the flower of the Germans, at that time the body-guard of the emperor. In the train which accompanied Drusus, Ælius Sejanus (*a*) was appointed, by his counsels to guide the inexperience of the prince. Sejanus, at that time in a joint commission with his father Strabo, had the command of the prætorian bands, and stood high in favour with Tiberius: the army would of course consider him as the fountain of rewards and punishments. As soon as they approached the camp, the discontented legions, by way of doing honour to Drusus, advanced to meet him; not, indeed, with colours displayed, as is usual on such occasions; but with a deep and solemn silence, their dress neglected, and their whole appearance uncouth and fordid. In their looks was seen an air of dejection, and at the same time a fullen gloom, that plainly shewed a spirit of mutiny still working in their hearts.

XXV. DRUSUS was no sooner within the entrenchments, than the malecontents secured the gates. Sentinels were posted at different stations, while the rest in a body gathered round the tribunal. Drusus stood in act to speak, with his hand commanding

manding silence. The soldiers felt a variety of contending passions: they looked around, and viewing their numbers, grew fierce at the sight; they rent the air with shouts and acclamations: they turned to Drusus, and were covered with confusion. An indistinct and hollow murmur was heard; a general uproar followed; and soon afterwards a deep and awful silence. The behaviour of the men varied with their passions; by turns inflamed with rage, or depressed with fear. Drusus seized his moment, and read his father's letter, in substance stating, that Tiberius had nothing so much at heart as the interest of the gallant legions with whom he had served in so many wars. As soon as his grief for the loss of Augustus allowed him leisure, it was his intention to refer the case of the army to the wisdom of the senate. In the mean time, he sent his son to grant all the relief that could then be applied. Ulterior demands he reserved for the deliberation of the fathers: to enforce authority, or to relax it, was the lawful right of that assembly; and the senate, beyond all doubt, would distribute rewards and punishments with equal justice.

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XXVI. THE soldiers made answer, that they had appointed Julius Clemens to speak in their behalf. That officer claimed a right of dismissal from the service, at the end of sixteen years; all arrears then to be discharged: in the mean time a denarius to be the soldier's daily pay; and the practice of detaining the men beyond the period of their service, under the name of veterans, to be abolished for ever. In a business of so much moment, Drusus observed, that the senate and the emperor must be consulted: a general clamour followed. "Why did he come so far, "since he had no authority to augment their pay, or to mitigate "their sufferings? The power of doing good was not confided "to him; while every petty officer inflicted blows, and stripes, "and

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“and even death. It had been formerly the policy of Tiberius
 “to elude the claims of the army, by taking shelter under the
 “name of Augustus; and now Drusus comes to play the same
 “farce. How long were they to be amused by the visits of the
 “emperor’s son? Could that be deemed an equitable government,
 “that kept nothing in suspense but the good of the army? When
 “the soldier is to be punished, or a battle to be fought, why not
 “consult the senate? According to the present system, reward is
 “to be always a subject of reference, while punishment is instant
 “and without appeal.”

XXVII. THE soldiers, in a tumultuous body, rushed from the tribunal, breathing vengeance, and, wherever they met either the men belonging to the prætorian bands, or the friends of Drusus, threatening violence, in hopes of ending the dispute by a sudden conflict. Cneius Lentulus (*a*), whose age and military character gave him considerable weight, was particularly obnoxious; he was supposed to be the chief adviser of Drusus, and an enemy to the proceedings of the army. For the security of his person, he went aside with Drusus, intending to repair to the winter camp. The mutineers gathered round him, demanding with insolence
 “which way was he going? to the senate? perhaps to the em-
 “peror? Was he there to shew himself an enemy to the demands
 “of the legions?” Nothing could restrain their fury: they discharged a volley of stones; and one of them taking place, Lentulus, wounded and covered with blood, had nothing to expect but instant death, when the guards that attended Drusus came up in time, and rescued him from destruction.

XXVIII. THE night that followed seemed big with some fatal disaster, when an unexpected phenomenon put an end to the commotion. In a clear and serene sky the moon was suddenly eclipsed.

eclipsed (*a*). This appearance, in its natural cause not understood by the foldiers, was deemed a prognostic denouncing the fate of the army. The planet, in its languishing state, represented the condition of the legions: if it recovered its former lustre, the efforts of the men would be crowned with success. To assist the moon in her labours, the air resounded with the clangor of brazen instruments, with the sound of trumpets, and other warlike music. The crowd, in the mean time, stood at gaze: every gleam of light inspired the men with joy; and the sudden gloom depressed their hearts with grief. The clouds condensed, and the moon was supposed to be lost in utter darkness. A melancholy horror seized the multitude; and melancholy is sure to engender superstition. A religious panic spread through the army. The appearance in the heavens foretold eternal labour to the legions; and all lamented that by their crimes they had called down upon themselves the indignation of the gods. Drusus took advantage of the moment. The opportunity was the effect of chance; but, rightly managed, might conduce to the wisest purpose.

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He gave orders that the men who by honest means were most in credit with the malecontents, should go round from tent to tent. Among these was Clemens, the centurion. They visited every part of the camp; they applied to the guards on duty; they conversed with the patrol, and mixed with the sentinels at the gates. They allured some by promises, and by terror subdued the spirit of others. “How long shall we besiege the son of the emperor? Where will this confusion end? Must we follow Percennius and Vibulenus? And shall we swear fidelity to those new commanders? Will their funds supply the pay of the legions? Have they lands to assign to the veteran foldier? For them shall the Neros and the Drusi be deposed? Are they to mount the vacant throne, the future sovereigns of Rome? Let

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“us, since we were the last to enter into rebellion, be the first to
 “expiate our guilt by well-timed repentance. Demands in fa-
 “vour of all, proceed but slowly: to individuals, indulgence is
 “more easily granted; deserve it separately, and the reward will
 “follow.” This reasoning had its effect: suspicion and mutual
 distrust began to take place; the new raised soldiers went apart
 from the veterans; the legions separated; a sense of duty revived
 in the breast of all; the gates were no longer guarded; and the
 colours, at first promiscuously crowded together, were restored to
 their proper station.

XXIX. AT the return of day, Drusus called an assembly of the
 soldiers. Though unused to public speaking, he delivered himself
 with the eloquence of a man who felt his own importance, and
 the dignity of his rank. He condemned the past, and applauded
 the present. It was not, he said, a part of his character to yield
 to menaces, or to shrink from danger. If he saw them penitent,
 if he heard the language of remorse, he would make a report in
 their favour, and dispose his father to listen to their petition. The
 soldiers answered in humble terms: at their request, the younger
 Blæsus, mentioned above, with Lucius Apronius, a Roman knight
 in the train of Drusus, and Justus Catonius, a centurion (*a*) of
 the first rank, were dispatched as the delegates of the army. In
 the councils afterwards held by Drusus, various opinions were
 entertained, and different measures proposed. To wait the re-
 turn of the deputies, and meanwhile to win the affections of
 the men by moderation, was the advice of many. Others were
 for immediate coercion: “Lenity, they said, makes no impres-
 “sion on the vulgar mind. The common men, when not kept
 “in subjection, are fierce and turbulent; yet ever ready to bend
 “and crouch under proper authority. It was now the time,
 “while they were overwhelmed with superstition, to infuse ano-
 “ther

“ther fear, and teach them to respect their general. The authors
“of the late sedition ought to be made a public example.” Drusus,
by the bent of his nature prone to vindictive measures, de-
fired that Percennius and Vibulenus might be brought before
him. By his orders they were put to death; according to some
writers, in his own tent, and there buried; according to others,
their bodies were thrown over the entrenchments, a spectacle for
public view.

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XXX. DILIGENT search was made for the most active incen-
diaries. Some were found roving on the outside of the lines, and
instantly cut off by the centurions, or the prætorian foldiers.
Others were delivered up to justice by their respective companies,
as an earnest of their own conversion. The rigour of the winter,
which set in earlier than usual, added to the afflictions of the
army. Heavy rains ensued; and fell with such violence, that
the men could not venture from their tents. To meet in parties,
and converse with their comrades, was impossible. The colours,
borne down by torrents that rushed through the camp, were
with difficulty secured. Superstition still continued to fill the
mind with terror. In every thing that happened, imagination
saw the anger of the gods: it was not without reason that the
planets suffered an eclipse, and storms and tempests burst from the
angry elements. The guilt of the army was the cause of all. To
avert impending vengeance, the only expedient was to depart at
once from a vile inauspicious camp, the scene of so many crimes,
and, by due atonement, expiate their past offences in their winter
quarters. In this persuasion the eighth legion departed: the fif-
teenth followed; while the ninth remained behind, declaring
aloud that they would wait for orders from Tiberius: but they
soon saw themselves deserted, and therefore struck their tents;
willing to do by choice what in a little time would be an act of

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necessity. Peace and good order being thus restored, Drusus judged it unnecessary to wait till the return of the deputies, and immediately set off for Rome.

XXXI. ABOUT the same time, and from the same causes, another sedition broke out among the legions in Germany, supported by greater numbers, and every way more alarming. The leaders of the mutiny flattered themselves that Germanicus, impatient of a new master, would resign himself to the will of the legions, and in that case they had no doubt but that every thing would fall before him. Two armies (*a*) in that juncture were formed on the banks of the Rhine; one in Upper Germany, commanded by Caius Silius; the other in the Lower Germany, under Aulus Cæcina. Both were subordinate to Germanicus, the commander in chief, who was then in Gaul, holding the assembly of the states (*b*), and collecting the revenues of that nation. The forces under Silius had not as yet revolted: undecided, wavering, and cautious, they judged it prudent to wait the issue of the mutiny begun by others. In Cæcina's camp on the Lower Rhine the flame of discord was kindled to the utmost fury. The one-and-twentieth and the fifth legions began the insurrection; the first and the twentieth followed their example: they were all stationed together in a summer camp on the confines of the Ubians. The campaign was inactive; and as the calls of duty were slight, the time of course was passed in repose and indolence.

New levies from Rome, the refuse of that city, had lately joined the army. Upon the first intelligence of the death of Augustus, these men, long addicted to licentiousness, and averse from labour, began to practise upon the ruder minds of their fellow soldiers. The time, they said, was come, when the veterans might claim their dismissal from the service; when the young soldier might

might augment his pay ; when the army in general might redress their grievances, and retaliate the cruelty of the centurions. It was not, as in Pannonia, a single Percennius that inflamed the mutiny ; nor were these arguments urged to men who saw on every side of them superior armies, and of course trembled while they meditated a revolt. There were numbers of busy incendiaries, and many mouths to bawl sedition. Their doctrine was, that the fate of Rome was in their hands ; by their victories the empire flourished ; by their valour Germany was subdued ; and from the country which they had conquered, the emperors of Rome were proud to derive a title (*c*) to adorn their names.

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XXXII. CÆCINA saw the danger, but made no effort to suppress it. The malecontents were numerous, and their phrenzy above all controul ; infomuch that the general no longer retained his usual firmness. The tumult broke out at once : the soldiers fell upon the centurions, the old and lasting cause of military discontent, and in every insurrection the first to fall a sacrifice. They seized their victims, and without mercy dashed them on the ground : in every legion (*a*) the centurions amounted to sixty ; an equal number fell on each of them. The soldiers laid on with their cudgels ; they wounded, maimed, and mangled their devoted officers ; and, to complete their vengeance, cast them dead, or ready to expire, over the entrenchments. Numbers were thrown into the Rhine. One in particular, by name Septimius, fled to the tribunal ; and clasping the knees of his general, hoped there to find a sanctuary. The soldiers demanded him with contumacy, and Cæcina was obliged to give him to their fury. Cassius Chærea (*b*), the same who afterwards immortalized his name by the death of Caligula, was then a centurion, in the vigour of youth, and of a spirit to face every danger. He made head against all assailants, and sword in hand cut his way through
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their thickest ranks. From this time all was uproar and wild commotion. No tribune gave orders, no præfect of the camp was heard. The leaders of the mutiny appointed sentinels; they stationed the night watch, and gave directions as emergencies required. One mind inspired the whole body; and this circumstance, in the judgment of those who best knew the temper of the army, was the sure sign of a faction not easy to be quelled. In separate bodies nothing was done; no single incendiary took upon him to direct; together they set up a general shout, and together all were silent. Every thing moved in concert, and even anarchy had the appearance of regular discipline.

XXXIII. MEANWHILE Germanicus, engaged, as has been mentioned, with the states of Gaul, received advice that Augustus was no more. He had married Agrippina, the grand-daughter (*a*) of that emperor, and by her had several children. Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, was his father, and of course Livia was his grand-mother. Thus descended, and thus allied, he lived in perpetual anxiety. The fullen aversion of his uncle, and the secret malice of Livia, embittered his days. The hatred with which they pursued him was unjust; and, for that reason, unrelenting. The fact is, Drusus (*b*) was the delight of the Roman people: they cherished his memory; persuaded that, if the sovereign power had devolved on him, the old republic would have been restored. At his death, the affections of mankind were transferred to his son. From similar virtues the same conduct was expected. Possessed of popular talents, affable, and obliging to all, Germanicus presented a strong contrast to the harsh temper and clouded aspect of Tiberius. The jealousies that subsisted between the women, added fuel to the flame: Livia beheld the wife of Germanicus with the malice of a step-mother; and, in return, Agrippina repented every thing with sensibility, perhaps

with indignation. But the tenderness of her affection for her husband softened her fiercer passions, and gave a tincture of delicacy to that haughty spirit which nothing could subdue.

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XXXIV. GERMANICUS was now advanced nearer to the imperial dignity ; but his zeal for Tiberius rose in proportion. He required from the Sequanians and the Belgic states (*a*) the oath of fidelity to the emperor ; and being informed of the commotions that distracted the army, he set forward, without delay, to appease the tumult. The legions met him on the outside of the entrenchments, with downcast eyes, and all the external symptoms of repentance. He was, however, no sooner within the lines, than the camp resounded with groans and bitter lamentations. Some laid hold of the prince's hand, as if going to kiss it ; but inserting his fingers in their mouths, made him feel their boneless gums, complaining that they had lost their teeth in the service : others shewed their bodies bent with age, and drooping under a load of infirmities. A tumultuous crowd gathered round the tribunal : Germanicus ordered them to form in their respective companies, that the men might more distinctly hear his answer ; and, to distinguish the cohorts, he directed the standards to be ranged in proper order. The soldiers obeyed, but with reluctance. Germanicus opened with the panegyric of Augustus ; he proceeded to the victories and triumphs obtained by Tiberius (*b*), insisting chiefly on his exploits in Germany at the head of those very legions. The succession, he observed, was quietly settled : Italy consented, both the Gauls remained in their duty, and peace prevailed in every part of the empire.

XXXV. THUS far Germanicus was heard with silence, or at worst with a low and hollow murmur. He made a transition to the present disturbances : “ Where is now the sense of military
“ duty ?

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“ duty? Where that ancient discipline, the boast and honour
 “ of the Roman armies? Whither have you driven the tribunes?
 “ Where are the centurions?” At these words, the whole mul-
 titude, as if with one instinct, threw off their clothes, exposing
 their bodies seamed with wounds from the enemy, and with
 lashes from the centurion. A general outcry followed. They
 complained of the price exacted for relaxations of duty; they
 mentioned the miserable pittance which they received for their
 daily pay; they set forth their various hardships, and in par-
 ticular their unremitting labour at the entrenchments, the fatigue
 of carrying provisions, wood, and forage, with a detail of other
 employments, sometimes imposed by necessity, and frequently
 to prevent idleness in the camp. The clamour of the veterans
 was outrageous: they had served thirty years and more, and
 when were they to expect a cessation of misery? They desired
 a retreat for old age, that they might not languish in despair,
 and wait till the hand of death released them from their troubles.
 Some demanded immediate payment of the legacies bequeathed
 by Augustus. They offered up ardent vows for the success of
 Germanicus; assuring him, if he wished to seize the sovereign
 power, that they were to a man devoted to his service.

Struck with horror, and dreading the contagion of so foul a
 crime, Germanicus leaped from the tribunal. The soldiers sword
 in hand opposed his passage, and even threatened violence if he
 did not return. The prince was resolved to perish, rather than
 forfeit his honour. He drew his sword, and pointed it to his
 breast, ready to plunge it to his heart. The people near him
 stopped his hand; but the crowd at a distance, and even some who
 dared to advance, had the insolence to bid him strike: one in
 particular, by name Calpurnius, presented a naked sword; adding,
 at the same time, *Take this; it is sharper than your own.* This
 behaviour,

behaviour, even in the moment of phrenzy, appeared to the soldiers an atrocious act. A pause ensued. The friends of Germanicus seized the opportunity, and conveyed him to his tent.

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XXXVI. A COUNCIL was immediately called. It was well known that the insurgents were preparing a deputation to the army on the Upper Rhine, in order to engage them in the revolt, and make it a common cause. The city of the Ubians was devoted to destruction. From the pillage of that place, the plan of the mutineers was to proceed to greater lengths, and carry desolation into the provinces of Gaul. The Germans, at the same time, knew the dissensions of the Roman army; and, if the Rhine were once abandoned, stood in readiness to seize so advantageous a post. The moment was full of perplexity. To employ the auxiliary forces and the states in alliance with Rome against the revolted legions, were to engage in a civil war. To proceed with rigour might be dangerous; and to pacify the men by largesses, were an expedient altogether dishonourable. Grant all, or nothing, the dilemma was either way big with mischief. After mature deliberation, letters were framed in the name of Tiberius, importing, that at the end of twenty years the soldier should be entitled to his dismissal; that, after sixteen, he should be deemed a veteran, still retained in the service, but exempt from all duty, except that of repelling the incursions of the enemy. A promise was added, that the legacies given by Augustus should not only be paid, but increased to double the amount.

XXXVII. THE forgery was suspected by the soldiers. They saw that the letter was an expedient to gain time. They demanded immediate compliance, and accordingly dismissals from the service were made out by the tribunes. The payment of the

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money was deferred till the legions arrived in their winter quarters. The fifth and one-and-twentieth refused to stir from the camp, till Germanicus, with his own finances and the assistance of his friends, made up the sum required. The first and twentieth legions, under the command of Cæcina, proceeded towards the city of the Ubians; exhibiting, as they marched, a shameful spectacle, while they carried, amidst the colours and the Roman eagles, the treasure extorted from their general. Germanicus proceeded with expedition to the army on the Upper Rhine, and there required the oath of fidelity to the emperor. The second, the thirteenth, and sixteenth legions complied without hesitation. The fourteenth stood for some time in suspense. They made no demand; but Germanicus ordered dismissions from the service to be made out for the veterans, and their money to be forthwith discharged.

XXXVIII. MEANWHILE a party of veterans belonging to the legions lately in commotion, but at that time stationed in the territory of the Chaucians, discovered the same spirit of disaffection; but the firmness of Mennius, the prefect of the camp, suppressed the mischief in its birth. He ordered two of the ring-leaders to be seized, and put to death; an act of severity not strictly (*a*) legal, but in some degree justified by necessity. He was obliged, however, to seek his safety by flight. The soldiers pursued him. Being detected in his lurking-place, he resolved to face his enemies, and depend upon his own bravery. "It is not," he said, "against me, the prefect of the camp, that this outrage is committed; it is treachery to Germanicus; it is treason to the emperor." The leaders of the mutiny were struck with terror. In that moment he seized the standard; and turning towards the river (*b*), declared, in a peremptory tone, that whoever quitted his rank, should suffer as a deserter. The whole
body

body marched into winter quarters, murmuring discontent, but not daring to disobey.

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XXXIX. DURING these transactions, the deputies of the senate met Germanicus at the Ubian altar (*a*), on his return from the Upper Rhine. Two legions, the first and twentieth, were stationed at that place in winter quarters; and, with them, the veterans lately appointed to follow the colours. To minds in their condition, fluctuating between fear and conscious guilt, every circumstance was a new alarm. The deputies, they were sure, came with instructions to revoke and cancel the terms which violence had extorted. The credulity of the common people never works by halves: they believe without proof, and soon find the author of what never happened. Munatius Plancus, a senator of consular rank, and a principal person in the embassy, was named as the framer of a decree, that never existed but in the imagination of the soldiers. In the dead of the night they rushed in a body to the head quarters of Germanicus, demanding, with rage and violence, the purple standard (*b*) which was there deposited. They broke open the doors; they forced their way into the house; and, dragging their general out of his bed, with menaces of instant death compelled him to surrender the standard. Flushed with this exploit, they ran wild through the streets; and meeting the deputies, then on their way to join the prince, they poured forth a torrent of opprobrious language, and threatened a general massacre.

Plancus was the first object of their fury. That illustrious citizen could not, without dishonour to his character, shrink back from a tumultuous rabble: he was however compelled to take refuge in the camp of the first legion. He there embraced the colours; and, laying hold of the eagles, thought himself protected

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by the gods of the army. But even that sanctuary was no longer a place of shelter; the soldiers forgot the religion of the camp; and if Calpurnius, the eagle-bearer, had not made a stout resistance, a deed of horror, unheard of even among barbarians, had been impiously perpetrated; and the blood of a Roman ambassador, in a Roman camp, had stained the altar of the gods (*c*). At the return of day, when the general, the men, and the actions of all might be clearly distinguished, Germanicus entered the camp. He ordered Plancus to be conducted to his presence, and seated him near himself on the tribunal. He complained of the distractions of the time; but imputed what had happened not so much to the madness of the soldiers, as to the vengeance of the gods. He explained the nature of the deputation from the senate; he stated the rights of ambassadors; he painted forth, in pathetic terms, the indignity offered to a man of such high consideration as Plancus; and lamented the disgrace that befel the legion. The soldiers heard him like men astonished, but not convinced. Germanicus thought proper to dismiss the deputies; but, to guard their persons, ordered a detachment of the auxiliary horse to escort them.

XL. THE conduct of Germanicus was censured by many of his friends. “Why did he not withdraw to the army on the
“Upper Rhine? Discipline was there in force, and with proper
“assistance the mutiny might have been crushed at once. By
“dismissals from the service, by largesses, and other feeble
“measures, the disturbances were too much encouraged. If the
“general set no value on his own life, why neglect the safety of
“his infant son (*a*)? Why hazard among lawless men, who
“had violated every sacred right, an affectionate wife, at that time
“far advanced in her pregnancy? Those tender pledges were the
“property of the state, and should be restored to the emperor and

“ the

“the commonwealth.” Germanicus yielded to these remonstrances; but the consent of Agrippina was still to be obtained. Descended from Augustus, she insisted that the grand-daughter of that emperor had not so far degenerated, as to shrink from danger. Germanicus continued to urge his request; he melted into tears; he clasped her in his arms; he embraced her infant son, and at length prevailed. A procession of disconsolate women moved slowly on; and with them the wife of the commander in chief, compelled to be a wanderer, with her infant son in her arms. A band of wretched women, driven forth from their husbands, attended in her train. Amongst those whom they left behind, the scene of distress was not less affecting.

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XLI. THE camp presented a mournful spectacle. Instead of a Roman general at the head of his legions, instead of Germanicus in all the pride and pomp of authority, the face of things resembled a city taken by storm. Nothing was heard but shrieks and lamentations. The soldiers listened; they came forth from their tents; they stood astonished at the sight: and, “Why,” they said, “wherefore those notes of sorrow? What means that mournful spectacle? A train of noble matrons deserted, left to themselves, abandoned by all! no centurion, not so much as a soldier, to accompany them! The wife of the general, undistinguished in the crowd, without a guard, and without the train of attendants suited to her rank, proceeding on her way towards the people of Treves, to seek in a foreign state that protection, which was denied her in a Roman camp!” To these reflections shame and remorse succeeded, and every breast was touched with sympathy. All lamented the condition of Agrippina. They called to mind the splendor of her father Agrippa; they recollected the majesty of Augustus, her grandfather; they remembered Drusus, her father-in-law: her own personal accomplishments, her numerous issue,
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and her virtue, endeared her to the army. Her son, they said, was a native of the camp (*a*); he was educated in the tents of the legions; and surnamed CALIGULA, from the boots so called, which, to win the affections of the soldiers, he wore in common with the meanest of the army. Amidst these reflections, the honour intended for the people of Treves made the deepest impression. Stung by that idea, they pressed forward to Agrippina; they entreated her to stay; they opposed her passage; they ran in crowds to Germanicus, imploring him not to let her depart. The prince, still warm with mixed emotions of grief and indignation, addressed them in the following manner:

XLII. “ My wife and child are ever dear to me, but not more
“ so than my father (*a*) and the commonwealth. But the em-
“ peror will be safe in his own imperial dignity, and the common-
“ wealth has other armies to fight her battles. For my wife and
“ children, if from their destruction you might derive additional
“ glory, I could yield them up a sacrifice in such a cause: at pre-
“ sent, I remove them from the rage of frantic men. If horrors
“ are still to multiply, let my blood glut your fury. The great-
“ grandson of Augustus, and the daughter-in-law of Tiberius,
“ need not be left to fill the measure of your iniquity. With-
“ out that horrible catastrophe the scene of guilt may end. But
“ let me ask you, in these last few days what have you not
“ attempted? What have you left unviolated? By what name
“ shall I now address you? Shall I call you soldiers? Soldiers!
“ who have dared to besiege the son (*b*) of your emperor! who
“ have made him a prisoner in his own entrenchments! Can I
“ call you citizens? Citizens! who have trampled under your feet
“ the authority of the senate; who have violated the most awful
“ sanctions, even those which hostile states have ever held in
“ respect, the rights of ambassadors, and the law of nations!

“ Julius Cæsar by a single word was able to quell a mutiny :
 “ he spoke to the men who resisted his authority ; he called them
 “ Romans (*c*), and they became his soldiers. Augustus shewed
 “ himself to the legions that fought at Actium, and the majesty
 “ of his countenance awed them into obedience. The distance
 “ between myself and those illustrious characters, I know is great ;
 “ and yet, descended from them, with their blood in my veins, I
 “ should resent with indignation a parallel outrage from the sol-
 “ diers of Syria, or of Spain : and will you, ye men of the first
 “ legion, who received your colours from the hand of Tiberius ;
 “ and you, ye men of the twentieth, his fellow warriors in the
 “ field, his companions in so many victories, will you thus re-
 “ quite him for all the favours so graciously bestowed upon you ?
 “ From every other quarter of the empire Tiberius has received
 “ nothing but joyful tidings : and must I wound his ear with the
 “ news of your revolt ? Must he hear from me, that neither the
 “ soldiers raised by himself, nor the veterans, who fought under
 “ him, are willing to own his authority ? Must he be told that
 “ neither dismissions from the service, nor money lavishly granted,
 “ can appease the fury of ungrateful men ? Must I inform him,
 “ that here the centurions are murdered ; that, in this camp, the
 “ tribunes are driven from their post ; that here the ambassadors of
 “ Rome are detained as prisoners ? That the entrenchments pre-
 “ sent a scene of slaughter ? That rivers are discoloured with our
 “ blood ? And that a Roman general leads a precarious life, at
 “ the mercy of men inflamed with epidemic madness ?

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XLIII. “ WHY, the other day, when I endeavoured to address
 “ you, why was the sword which I aimed at my breast, why in
 “ that moment was it wrested from me ? Oh ! my mistaken
 “ friends ! The man who presented his sword, dealt more kindly
 “ by me. I could then have closed my eyes in peace. I should
 “ not

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“ not have lived to see the disgrace of the legions, and all the
 “ horrors that followed. After my death, you would have chosen
 “ another general, regardless indeed of my unhappy lot, but
 “ still of spirit to revenge the massacre of Varus and his three
 “ legions. May that revenge be still reserved for the Roman
 “ sword; and may the gods withhold from the Belgic states,
 “ though now they court the opportunity, the vast renown of vin-
 “ dicating the Roman name, and humbling the pride of the Ger-
 “ man nations! and may thy departed spirit, adored Augustus!
 “ who now art ranked among the gods; and may thy image (*a*),
 “ Drusus, my ever honoured father! may thy memory inspire
 “ these unhappy men, whom I now see touched with remorse!
 “ May your active energy blot out the disgrace that sits heavy
 “ upon them; and may the rage of civil discord discharge itself
 “ on the enemies of Rome! And you, my fellow-soldiers!
 “ whom I behold with altered looks, whose hearts begin to melt
 “ with sorrow and repentance, if you mean to preserve the am-
 “ bassadors of the senate; if you intend to remain faithful to your
 “ prince, and to restore my wife and children; detach yourselves
 “ at once from the contagion of guilty men; withdraw from the
 “ seditious: that act will be a proof of your remorse, an earnest
 “ of returning virtue.”

XLIV. THE soldiers were appeased by this harangue. They acknowledged their guilt, and the justice of the reproof. In a suppliant tone they entreated Germanicus to select for punishment the most obnoxious; to pardon the weakness of men drawn into error, and lead them against the enemy. They requested that his wife might be recalled; and that his son, the darling of the camp, might not be sent a hostage to the states of Gaul. Agrippina being then advanced in her pregnancy, and the winter season approaching, Germanicus judged it best to let her proceed on her journey.

journey. His son, he said, should once more appear amongst them. What remained to be done he left to themselves.

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The soldiers were now incited by new sentiments, and passions unfelt before: they seized the ringleaders of the sedition, and delivered them, loaded with irons, to Caius Cetrionius, who commanded the first legion. By that officer the delinquents were brought to immediate justice. The form of proceeding was as follows: The legions under arms were ranged round the tribunal: the criminal was set up to public view; if the general voice pronounced him guilty, he was thrown headlong down, and put to instant death. In this mode of punishment the soldier concurred with ardour; by shedding the blood of others, he thought his own guilt was expiated. The measure, however violent, received no check from Germanicus. What was done had no sanction from his orders. The cruelty began with the soldiers, and by consequence could be imputed to no one else. The veterans followed the example, and in a few days afterwards were ordered to march into Rhætia, under colour of defending the province from the inroads of the Suevians; but, in truth, to remove them from a camp polluted by rebellion, and in the end made savage by the horrors of military execution. A strict review of the centurions was the first care of Germanicus. They were all cited before him; each in person gave in his name, his rank, the place of his birth, the length of his service, the actions in which he had distinguished himself, and the military honours (*a*) which he had obtained. If the tribunes, or the legion in general, reported in his favour, he preserved his station; if taxed by the general voice with avarice or cruelty, he was discharged from the service.

XLV. ORDER and tranquillity were in this manner restored;
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but at the distance of sixty miles, at a place called *Vetera* (*a*), riot and disorder still subsisted. The fifth and twenty-first legions were there in winter quarters. In the late commotions these men were the first and most active incendiaries. The worst and blackest crimes were by them committed; and now, when the storm was in appearance over, they still retained their former ferocity, unreclaimed by the penitence of others, and undismayed by the fate of those who had suffered death. To meet this new alarm, Germanicus resolved to equip his fleet, and with the auxiliary forces to sail down the Rhine, in order, if the mutiny still subsisted, to crush it at once by force of arms.

XLVI. AT Rome, in the mean time, where the issue of the commotions in Illyricum was yet unknown, advice was received of the disorders that broke out in Germany. The city was thrown into consternation. All exclaimed against the conduct of Tiberius. “To amuse the senate and the people, both helpless, void of spirit, and disarmed, was the sole drift of the emperor. The flame of discord was in the mean time kindled up by the distant armies; and two young men who had neither experience, nor sufficient authority, were sent in vain to quell the insurrection. Why did not Tiberius set out in person upon the first alarm? The occasion called for his presence. At the sight of him, who had gained renown in war, and was more-over the fountain of rewards and punishments, the malcontents would have laid down their arms. Augustus (*a*), though in the decline of life, could make a progress into Germany; and shall Tiberius, in the vigour of his days, content himself with the vain parade of attending the senate, there to amuse himself with petty disputes, to cavil about words, and wrangle with the fathers? Enough was done at Rome to establish his system of slavery, and despotic power. Measures should now be taken to

“ curb

“curb the spirit of the legions, and teach them to endure the
“leisure of repose.”

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XLVII. TIBERIUS heard the murmurs of discontent, but remained inflexible. To keep possession of the capital, and neither hazard his own safety, nor that of the empire, was his fixed resolution. A crowd of reflections filled him with anxiety. The German army was superior in strength; that in Pannonia was the nearest: the former had great resources in Gaul, and Italy lay open to the latter. To which should he give the preference? If he visited one, the other might take umbrage. By sending his sons, he held the balance even, and neither could be jealous. It was besides his maxim, that the imperial dignity should not be suffered to tarnish in the eye of the public. What is seen at a distance, is most respected. If Drusus and Germanicus reserved some points for the consideration of their father, the inexperience of youth would be a sufficient apology. Should the mutineers persist with obstinacy, there would still be time for the prince to interpose, and either by rigour, or conciliating measures, to restore the ancient discipline. If he went in person, and the insurgents spurned his authority, what resource was left?—These considerations had their weight; and yet, to have the appearance of being willing to face his armies, was part of his policy. He played this game so well, that he seemed every day upon the point of leaving Rome (*a*). He settled his train of attendants, ordered his camp-equipage, equipped his fleets; still contriving, by specious pretences, to give a colour to delay. The winter season, he said, was near at hand, and the weight of affairs at Rome claimed his attention. The most discerning were for some time the dupes of his dissimulation. The people were much longer amused, and the provinces were the last to see through the delusion.

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XLVIII. GERMANICUS in the mean time was ready, with his collected force, to act against the rebel legions. He was willing, notwithstanding, to suspend his operations, till time should shew whether the late example had wrought the minds of the soldiers to submission, and a due sense of their duty. With this intent, he sent dispatches to Cæcina, to inform that officer, that he was advancing at the head of a powerful army; resolved, if justice was not previously executed, to put the whole body to the sword. Cæcina communicated, in a confidential manner, his secret instructions to the standard-bearers, to the inferior officers, and such of the private men as were known to be well affected. He recommended to them to avert the danger that hung over the legions, and in good time to secure their lives. In times of peace, he said, there is always leisure to investigate the truth, and separate the man of merit from the turbulent and seditious: but war knows no distinction of cases; the innocent and the guilty fall in one promiscuous carnage.

The officers, thus instructed, founded the common men; and, finding the greatest part well affected, agreed, at an hour approved of by Cæcina, to fall with sudden fury upon the leaders of the mutiny. Having concerted their measures, at a signal given they began the attack. They rushed sword in hand into the tents (*a*), and without mercy butchered their comrades, who little thought they were so near their end. A dreadful slaughter followed; no cause assigned, and no explanation given. Except the authors of the measure, no man knew from what motive the assault proceeded, or where it would end.

XLIX. IN the civil wars recorded in history, we nowhere find a scene of horror like the present. No battle was fought; there was no assault from an adverse camp: in the same tents, where the
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day saw them eat their meal in peace, and the night laid them down to rest, comrades divide against their fellows ; darts and javelins are thrown with sudden fury ; uproar and confusion follow ; shouts and dying groans resound throughout the camp ; a scene of blood is laid ; wretches expire, and the reason remains unknown. The event is left to chance. Men of worth and honour perished in the fray ; for the guilty, finding themselves the devoted objects, snatched up their arms, and joined the better cause. Cæcina remained a tame spectator ; no officer, no tribune attempted to stop the wild commotion. The fury of the soldiers had its free career ; and vengeance rioted in blood, even to satiety. Germanicus in a short time after entered the camp. He saw a tragic spectacle ; and, with tears in his eyes, called it a massacre, not an act of justice. He ordered the dead bodies to be burnt. The fury of the soldiers had not yet subsided : in the agitation of their minds they desired to be led against the enemy, in order to expiate by the blood of the Barbarians the desolation they had made. The shades of their slaughtered friends could not be otherwise appeased : when their breasts were gashed with honourable wounds, atonement would then be made. Germanicus embraced the opportunity ; and throwing a bridge over the river (*a*), advanced with an army of twelve thousand legionary soldiers, six-and-twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse ; all free from disaffection, and during the late commotions strict observers of discipline.

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L. THE Germans, posted at a small distance, exulted in full security. They saw with pleasure the cessation of arms occasioned by the death of Augustus ; and the revolt of the legions inspired them with fresh courage. The Romans, by a forced march, passed the Cælian forest (*a*) ; and having levelled part of the rampart (*b*) formerly begun by Tiberius, pitched their tents on the spot. In
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the front and rear of the camp, they threw up entrenchments. The flanks were fortified with a pile of trees, hewn down for the purpose. Their way from that place lay through a gloomy forest: but of two roads, which was most eligible, was matter of doubt; whether the (*c*) shortest and most frequented, or another more difficult, and seldom attempted, but for that reason unsuspected by the enemy. The longest road was preferred. The army pushed on with vigour. The scouts had brought intelligence that the approaching night was a festival, to be celebrated by the Barbarians with joy and revelry. In consequence of this information, Cæcina had orders to advance with the light cohorts, and clear a passage through the woods. The legions followed at a moderate distance. The brightness of the night favoured their design. They arrived, with rapid expedition, at the villages of the Marfians (*d*), and without delay formed a chain of posts, to inclose the enemy on every side. The Barbarians were sunk in sleep and wine, some stretched on their beds, others at full length under the tables; all in full security, without a guard, without posts, and without a sentinel on duty. No appearance of war was seen; nor could that be called a peace, which was only the effect of savage riot, the languor of a debauch.

LI. GERMANICUS, to spread the slaughter as wide as possible, divided his men into four battalions. The country, fifty miles round, was laid waste with fire and sword; no compassion for sex or age; no distinction of places, holy or profane; nothing was sacred. In the general ruin the Temple of Tanfan (*a*), which was held by the inhabitants in the highest veneration, was levelled to the ground. Dreadful as the slaughter was, it did not cost a drop of Roman blood. Not so much as a wound was received. The attack was made on the Barbarians sunk in sleep, dispersed in flight, unarmed, and incapable of resistance. An account of the massacre

soon reached the Bructerians, the Tubantes, and the Usipetes. Inflamed with resentment, those nations took up arms; and posting themselves to advantage, surrounded the woods through which the Roman army was to pass. Germanicus, informed of their motions, marched in order of battle. Part of the cavalry, with the light cohorts, formed the van; the first legion followed, to support them; the baggage moved in the centre. The left wing was closed by the twenty-first legion, and the right by the fifth. The twentieth, with the auxiliaries, brought up the rear. The Germans, in close ambush, waited till the army stretched into the woods. After skirmishing with the advanced party, and both the flanks, they fell with their whole strength upon the rear. The light cohorts, unable to sustain the shock of a close embodied enemy, were thrown into disorder; when Germanicus, riding at full speed to the twentieth legion, cried aloud, "The time is come when you may efface, by one brave exploit, the guilt of the late sedition: charge with courage, and you gain immortal honour." Roused by this animating strain, the legion rushed to the attack, and at the first onset broke the ranks of the enemy. The Barbarians fled to the open plain: the Romans pursued them with dreadful slaughter. Meanwhile the van of the army passed the limits of the forest, and began to throw up entrenchments. From that time the march was unmolested. The soldiers, flushed with success, and in the glory of this expedition losing all memory of former guilt, were sent into winter quarters.

LII. AN account of these events arriving at Rome, Tiberius was variously affected. He received a degree of pleasure, but it was a pleasure mingled with anxiety. That the troubles in the camp were at an end, he heard with satisfaction; but he saw, with a jealous spirit, that by largesses, and dismissions from the service, Germanicus had gained the affections of the legions. The glory
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of his arms was another circumstance that touched him nearly. He thought fit, notwithstanding, to lay the whole account before the senate. He expatiated at large in praise of Germanicus, but in terms of studied ostentation, too elaborate to be thought sincere. Of Drusus, and the issue of the troubles in Illyricum, he spoke with more reserve; concise, yet not without energy. The concessions made by Germanicus to the legions on the Rhine, were ratified in every article, and at the same time extended to the army in Pannonia.

LIII. IN the course of the year died Julia (*a*), the daughter of Augustus. On account of her lascivious pleasures, she had been formerly banished by her father to the Isle of Pandataria, and afterwards to Rhegium, a city on the straits of Sicily. During the life of her sons Caius and Lucius, she became the wife of Tiberius, and by the haughtiness of her carriage made him feel that she thought him beneath her rank. The arrogance of her behaviour was the secret and most powerful motive for the retreat, which that prince made to the Isle of Rhodes. At his accession to the empire, when he was master of the Roman world, he saw her in a state of destitution, banished, covered with infamy, and, after the murder of Agrippa Posthumus, without a ray of hope to comfort her. Yet this could not appease the malice of Tiberius. He ordered her to be starved to death; concluding that, after a tedious exile at a place remote, a lingering death in want and misery, would pass unnoticed.

From the same root of bitterness sprung the cruelty with which he persecuted Sempronius Gracchus (*b*); a man descended from a noble family, possessed of talents, and adorned with eloquence, but eloquence viciously applied. By his wit and rare accomplishments he seduced the affections of Julia, even in the life-time
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of her husband Agrippa. Nor did his passion stop there: when she was afterwards married to Tiberius, he was still a persevering adulterer, and by secret artifices poisoned the mind of the wife against her husband. The letter to Augustus, in which she treated the character of Tiberius with contempt, was generally thought to be his composition. For these offences he was banished to Cercina, an island on the coast of Africa, where he passed fourteen years in exile. Soldiers at length were sent to put an end to his days. The assassins found him on the point of a prominent neck of land, with a countenance fixed in sorrow and despair. As soon as the ruffians approached, he desired a short delay, that he might write the sentiments of a dying man to his wife Alliaria. Having dispatched that business, he presented his neck to the murderer's stroke; in his last moments worthy of the Sempronian name. His life was a series of degenerate actions. The assassins, according to some historians, were not hired at Rome, but sent from Africa by the proconsul Lucius Asprenas, at the instigation of Tiberius, who hoped to throw from himself the load of guilt, and fix it on his tools of power. The artifice did not succeed.

LIV. IN the course of this year was formed a new institution of religious rites. In honour of Augustus a list of priests was added to the sacerdotal college, in imitation of the order founded in ancient times by Titus Tatius, to perpetuate the religious ceremonies of the Sabines. To create this new sodality, the names of the most eminent citizens, to the number of one-and-twenty, were drawn by lot; and Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus, were added. It happened, however, that the games performed this year in honour of Augustus, were disturbed by violent factions among the players (*a*). In compliance with the wishes of Mæcenæ, that passionate admirer of Bathyllus the comedian, Augustus had always favoured the exhibition of pan-

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tomimes. He had himself a taste for those amusements; and by mixing with the diversions of the multitude, he thought he shewed a popular condescension. Tiberius was of a different character: but the minds of men, softened by luxury, and during a long reign dissolved in pleasure, could not easily conform to that austerity, which suited the rigid temper of the prince.

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LV. IN the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Caius Norbanus, a triumph was decreed to Germanicus, though the war was not yet brought to a conclusion. The prince had concerted his plan of operations for the ensuing summer; but he thought proper, early in the spring, to open the campaign, by a sudden irruption into the territories of the Cattians; a people distracted among themselves by the opposite factions of Arminius (*a*) and Segestes; the former famous for his treachery to the Romans, and the latter for unshaken fidelity. Arminius was the common disturber of Germany; Segestes, on the other hand, had given repeated proofs of his pacific temper. When measures were taken for a general insurrection, he discovered the conspiracy; and during the banquet which preceded the massacre of Varus, he proposed that he himself, Arminius, and other chiefs, should be seized, and loaded with irons. By that vigorous measure he was sure that the minds of the common people would be depressed with fear; and, having lost their chiefs, none would dare to rise in arms. The general, of course, would have leisure to discriminate the innocent from the guilty. But Varus was fated to perish, and Arminius struck the blow. In the present juncture, Segestes was compelled by the ardour of his countrymen to take up arms. He still however retained his former sentiments. He had, besides, motives of a private nature: his daughter, whom he had promised in marriage to another chief, was ravished from him by Arminius. The father and the son-in-law were by con-

sequence inveterate enemies; and that connection, which between persons mutually well inclined forms the tenderest friendship, served only to inflame the animosity of the two contending chiefs.

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LVI. ENCOURAGED by these dissensions, Germanicus appointed Cæcina to the command of four legions, five thousand of the allies, and the German recruits lately raised, by hasty levies, on this side of the Rhine. He marched himself at the head of an equal legionary force, and double the number of auxiliaries. On the ruins of a fort, formerly built on Mount Taunus (*a*) by his father Drusus, he raised a fortification, and proceeded by rapid marches against the Cattians. To secure his retreat, he left behind him Lucius Apronius, with orders to work at the roads, and embank the rivers. The dryness of the season, uncommon in those parts, and the low bed of waters in the rivers, favoured his expedition; but, before his return, the fall of heavy rains, and the overflow of torrents, might lay the country under water. His arrival was so little expected by the Cattians, that their women and children were either taken prisoners, or put to the sword. The young and able-bodied made their escape by swimming across the Adrana. From the opposite bank they attempted to hinder a bridge from being thrown over the river; but by a fierce discharge from the engines, and a volley of darts, they were driven from their post. They offered terms of peace, but without success. Numbers submitted at discretion: the rest abandoned their villages, and fled for shelter into the woods. The country round was laid waste; Mattium, the capital, was destroyed by fire; and the open plains were made a desert. Germanicus marched his army back towards the Rhine, the Barbarians never daring to harass the rear, as is their practice, when pretending to retreat in a panic, they wheel about on a sudden, and return to the charge. The Cheruscans meditated a sudden attack in favour of

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the Cattians; but Cæcina, with an army of observation, spread forward an alarm, that the enterprize was dropt. The Marfians, more bold and desperate, risked a battle, and were defeated.

LVII. GERMANICUS, in a short time afterwards, received a message from Segestes, imploring protection from the fury of his countrymen, who held him closely besieged. Arminius had been the adviser of the war, and was by consequence the idol of the people. In a nation of savages, the man of fierce and turbulent spirit is sure, in times of commotion, to be the leading demagogue. Among the deputies sent to Germanicus, was Segimund, the son of Segestes; a young man who, in the year famous for the revolt of Germany, was made by the Romans a priest of the Ubian altar; but soon after, fired by the zeal that roused his whole nation, he tore off his sacred vestments, and went over to his countrymen. Conscious of this offence, he hesitated for some time, willing to decline the embassy; till at length, encouraged by the fame of Roman clemency, he obeyed his father's orders. He met with a gracious reception; and, under a proper guard, was conducted in safety to the frontiers of Gaul. Germanicus thought it of moment to change his purpose, and march back to the relief of Segestes. He no sooner appeared before the place, than the enemy was attacked, and put to the rout.

Segestes was set at liberty, and with him a numerous train of relatives and faithful followers; several women of noble birth; and, in the number, the daughter of Segestes (*a*), then married to Arminius. In her deportment no trace appeared of her father's character: she breathed the spirit of her husband. Not a tear was seen to start; no supplicating tone was heard; she stood in pensive silence; her hands strained close to her bosom, and her eyes fixed upon her womb, then pregnant with the fruit of her marriage.

marriage. At the same time was brought forth a load of spoils, which, in the slaughter of Varus and his legions, fell to the share of those who now surrendered to the Roman arms. What chiefly attracted every eye, was Segestes himself; his stature of superior size, and his countenance that of a man who knew neither guilt nor fear. He spoke to this effect:

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LVIII. "It is not now the first time that Segestes has given
"proofs of his attachment to the cause of Rome. From the mo-
"ment when I was enrolled a citizen by the deified Augustus,
"your interest has been the rule of my conduct. Your friends I
"embraced; your enemies were mine. In acting thus, I have
"not been guilty of treason to my country. A traitor I know
"is odious, even to those who profit by the treason. I have been
"your friend, because I thought the interests of Germany and
"Rome were interwoven with each other; I have been your
"friend, because I preferred peace to war. Governed by these
"principles, I addressed myself to Varus, who commanded
"your armies; before his tribunal, I exhibited an accusation
"against Arminius, the ravisher of my daughter, and the violator
"of public treaties. But sloth and irresolution were the bane of
"that unfortunate general. From laws enfeebled and relaxed
"I expected no relief. I therefore desired, earnestly desired, that
"Arminius, and the other chiefs of the conspiracy, might be
"thrown into irons. I did not except myself. With what zeal
"I pressed the measure, witness that fatal night, which I wish
"had been my last. The horrors that followed, demand our
"tears: they cannot be justified. Soon after that tragic event,
"I confined Arminius in chains; and from his faction I have
"suffered, in my turn, the same indignity. Admitted now to
"an interview with Germanicus, I prefer ancient friendship
"to new connections; my voice is still for peace. For myself,
"I have nothing in view: my honour is dear to me, and I desire
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“ to repel all suspicion of perfidy. I would, if possible, make
 “ terms for my countrymen, if they can be induced to prefer
 “ a well-timed repentance to calamity and ruin. For my son,
 “ and the errors of his youth, I am an humble suppliant. My
 “ daughter, indeed, appears before you, by necessity, not by
 “ her own choice: I acknowledge it. It is yours to decide her
 “ fate: it is yours to judge which ought to have most influence,
 “ her husband, or her father: she is with child by Arminius,
 “ and she sprung from me.” Germanicus, in his usual style of
 moderation, assured him that his children and relations should be
 protected; as to himself, he might depend upon a safe retreat
 in one of the old provinces. He then marched back to the
 Rhine; and there, by the direction of Tiberius, was honoured
 with the title of IMPERATOR. The wife of Arminius was
 delivered of a boy, who was reared and educated at Ravenna (*a*).
 The disasters which made him afterwards the sport of fortune,
 shall be related in their proper place.

LIX. THE surrender of Segestes, and his gracious reception
 from Germanicus, being in a short time spread throughout Ger-
 many, the feelings of men were various, as their inclinations
 happened to be for peace or war. Arminius, by nature fierce
 and enterprising, seeing, in this juncture, his wife for ever lost,
 and the child in her womb a slave before its birth, felt himself
 inflamed with tenfold fury. He flew round the country of the
 Cherusicans, spreading the flame of discord, and in every quarter
 rousing the people to revenge; he called aloud to arms, to arms
 against Segestes, to arms against the Romans. He spared no
 topic that could inflame resentment. “ Behold,” he cried, “ be-
 “ hold in Segestes the true character of a father! in Germanicus
 “ an accomplished general! in the exploits of the Roman army,
 “ the glory of a warlike nation! with mighty numbers they have
 “ led a woman into captivity. It was not in this manner that
 “ Armi-

“ Arminius dealt with them : three legions, and as many com-
 “ manders, fell a sacrifice to my revenge. To the arts of traitors
 “ I am a stranger ; I wage no war with women big with child.
 “ My enemies are worthy of a soldier ; I declare open hostility,
 “ and sword in hand I meet them in the field of battle.

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“ Survey your religious groves : the Roman banners by me
 “ hung up, and dedicated to the gods of our country, are there
 “ displayed ; they are the trophies of victory. Let Segestes fly for
 “ shelter to the Roman provinces ; let him enjoy his bank on
 “ the side of Gaul ; and let him there meanly crouch to make
 “ his son the priest of a foreign altar. Posterity will have reason
 “ to curse his memory : future ages will detest the man, whose
 “ crime it is, that we have seen, between the Rhine and the
 “ Elbe, rods and axes, the Roman habit, and the Roman arms.
 “ To other nations, punishments and taxes are yet unknown ;
 “ they are happy, for they are ignorant of the Romans. We
 “ have bravely thrown off the yoke ; we are free from burthens :
 “ and since Augustus was obliged to retreat, that very Augustus
 “ whom his countrymen have made a god ; and since Tiberius,
 “ that upstart emperor, keeps aloof from Germany, shall we,
 “ who have dared nobly for our liberties, shrink from a boy
 “ void of experience, and an army ruined by their own divi-
 “ sions ? If your country is dear to you, if the glory of your
 “ ancestors is near your hearts, if liberty is of any value, if the
 “ enjoyment of your natural rights is preferable to new masters
 “ and foreign colonies, follow Arminius. I will marshal you
 “ the way to glory and to freedom. Segestes has nothing in
 “ store but infamy, chains, and bondage.”

LX. By these incendiary speeches all Germany was roused
 to action. The Cheruscans took up arms, and the neighbouring
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states followed their example. Inguiomer, a man long known, and high in the estimation of the Romans, declared in favour of Arminius: he was uncle to that chieftain. By adopting his measures, he added strength to the confederacy. Germanicus saw the impending danger. To cause a diversion, and avoid the united strength of the enemy, he ordered Cæcina, with forty Roman cohorts, to penetrate into the territory of the Bructerians, as far as the river Amisia. Pedro, at the head of the cavalry, was directed to march along the confines of the Frisians. Germanicus, with four legions, embarked on the lakes (*a*). One common place of destination was appointed: the foot, the cavalry, and the fleet arrived in due time. The Chaucians joined the Roman army; the Bructerians set fire to their houses, and abandoned their country. Lucius Stertinius, with a detachment of the light horse, was ordered to pursue the fugitives. That officer came up with the enemy, and put the whole body to the rout. Amidst the slaughter that followed, some of the soldiers were intent on plunder. Among the spoils was found the eagle of the nineteenth legion, lost in the massacre of Varus. The army pushed on with vigour to the farthest limit of the Bructerians. The whole country between the river Amisia and the Luppia, was made a desert. The Romans were now at a small distance from the forest of Teutoburgium (*b*), where the bones of Varus and his legions were said to be still unburied.

LXI. TOUCHED by this affecting circumstance, Germanicus resolved to pay the last human office to the relics of that unfortunate commander, and his slaughtered soldiers. The same tender sentiment diffused itself through the army: some felt the touch of nature for their relations, others for their friends; and all lamented the disasters of war, and the wretched lot of human kind. Cæcina was sent forward to explore the woods; where
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the waters were out, to throw up bridges ; and, by heaping loads of earth on the swampy soil, to secure a solid footing. The army marched through a gloomy solitude. The place presented an awful spectacle, and the memory of a tragical event increased the horror of the scene. The first camp of Varus appeared in view. The extent of the ground, and the three different inclosures for the eagles (*a*), still distinctly seen, left no doubt but that the whole was the work of the three legions. Farther on were traced the ruins of a rampart, and the hollow of a ditch well nigh filled up. This was supposed to be the spot where the few, who escaped the general massacre, made their last effort, and perished in the attempt. The plains around were white with bones, in some places thinly scattered, in others lying in heaps, as the men happened to fall in flight, or in a body resisted to the last. Fragments of javelins, and the limbs of horses, lay scattered about the field. Human skulls were seen upon the trunks of trees. In the adjacent woods stood the savage altars where the tribunes and principal centurions were offered up a sacrifice with barbarous rites. Some of the soldiers who survived that dreadful day, and afterwards broke their chains, related circumstantially several particulars. “ Here the commanders of the legions were put to the sword : on that spot the eagles were seized. There Varus received his first wound ; and this the place where he gave himself the mortal stab, and died by his own sword. Yonder mound was the tribunal from which Arminius harangued his countrymen : here he fixed his gibbets ; there he dug the funeral trenches ; and in that quarter he offered every mark of scorn and insolence to the colours and the Roman eagles.”

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LXII. SIX years had elapsed since the overthrow of Varus ; and now, on the same spot, the Roman army collected the bones

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of their slaughtered countrymen. Whether they were burying the remains of strangers, or of their own friends, no man knew : all, however, considered themselves as performing the last obsequies to their kindred, and their brother soldiers. While employed in this pious office, their hearts were torn with contending passions ; by turns oppressed with grief, and burning for revenge. A monument to the memory of the dead was raised with turf. Germanicus with his own hand laid the first sod ; discharging at once the tribute due to the legions, and sympathizing with the rest of the army. The whole, though an act of piety to the slain, was condemned by Tiberius. The malignity of his nature led him to misinterpret the actions of Germanicus ; perhaps he was apprehensive, that the view of a field covered with the unburied limbs of a slaughtered army, might damp the ardour of the soldier, and add to the ferocity of the enemy. There might be another reason for his displeasure. Perhaps he thought that a general, invested with the office of augur, and other religious functions, ought not to assist at the performance of funereal rites.

LXIII. GERMANICUS pressed forward, by rapid marches, in pursuit of Arminius, who fled before him, taking advantage of the defiles, and difficult parts of the country. Having overtaken the Barbarians, and seeing his opportunity, he ordered the cavalry to advance on the open plain, and dislodge the enemy. Arminius drew up his men in close compacted ranks, and feigning a retreat to the forest, suddenly wheeled about ; giving, at the same time, the signal to the troops that lay ambushed in the woods, to rush out, and begin the attack. The Roman cavalry, struck with surprise at the sudden appearance of a new army, were thrown into disorder. They fell back upon the cohorts sent to support them, and a general consternation followed. The
Barbarians

Barbarians pursued their advantage; and had well nigh driven the Romans into a morass, well known to themselves, but impracticable to strangers, when Germanicus came up with the legions in order of battle. At the sight of a regular force, the Germans were struck with terror. The broken ranks of the Romans had time to rally. Nothing decisive followed. Both armies parted upon equal terms: Germanicus marched back to the river Amisia, and with his legions failed across the lakes. Part of the cavalry had orders to file along the sea-coast, and by a winding march return to the banks of the Rhine.

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Cæcina, at the head of his own division, marched through a country of which he was not ignorant. He had directions to pass *the long bridges (a)* with all possible expedition. The place so called is a narrow causeway, constructed formerly by Lucius Domitius. It stretches a great length of way between two prodigious marshes. The country round is one vast fen, in some parts covered with a deep and slimy mud, in others with a tenacious heavy clay, intersected frequently by rapid torrents. A thick forest, rising at some distance on a gradual acclivity, inclosed the whole scene, and formed a kind of amphitheatre. Arminius, who knew the course of the country, made a forced march, and took post in the woods, before the Romans, encumbered with arms and heavy baggage, arrived at the place. Cæcina found a double difficulty. The bridges, ruined by time, were to be repaired; and the enemy at the same time was to be repulsed. He judged it necessary to pitch his camp; as in that situation a sufficient number might work at the causeway, while the rest were held in readiness to engage the enemy.

LXIV. THE Barbarians made a vigorous effort to force the outposts, and penetrate to the men working at the entrench-

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ments. They rushed forward with impetuous fury, they wheeled about to the flanks, they returned to charge in front. A mingled shout arose from the labourers and the combatants. All things seemed to conspire against the Romans: the slimy soil, if the men stood still, sunk under them; if they advanced, it was too slippery for their feet. The weight of the soldiers' armour, and the depth of water, made the management of the javelins almost impracticable. The Cheruscans, on the contrary, were fighting in their own element; they were used to fens and marshes; their stature was large, and their spears of a length to wound at a distance. The legions began to give way, when night came on, and put an end to the unequal conflict. The Barbarians were too much flushed with success to complain of fatigue, or to think of rest. During the night they cut a channel for the waters, and from the neighbouring hills let down a deluge into the valley. The plains were laid under water; and the half finished works being carried away by the flood, the soldier saw that his labour was to begin again.

Cæcina had been forty years in the service. A man of his experience, who had known the vicissitudes of war, was not to be disconcerted. He saw, between the morasses and the hills, a plain of solid ground, large enough for a small army. To that spot, having weighed all circumstances, he judged it his best expedient to send the wounded with the heavy baggage, and in the mean time to confine the Germans in their woods. For this purpose he stationed the fifth legion in the right wing, and the one-and-twentieth in the left; the first legion led the van, and the twentieth brought up the rear.

LXV. THE night in both camps was busy and unquiet, but from different causes. The Barbarians passed their time in jollity and

and carousing; warlike songs and savage howlings kept a constant uproar, while the woods and valleys rung with the hideous sound. In the Roman camp the scene was different: pale gleaming fires were seen; no sound, save that of low and hollow murmurs; the soldiers lay extended at length under the palisades, or wandered from tent to tent, fatigued and weary, yet scarce awake. Cæcina was disturbed by a terrible dream: he thought that Quintilius Varus emerged from the fens; and calling upon him to follow, waved his hand to point the way. Unwilling to obey the summons, Cæcina pushed the phantom from him. At break of day, the legions which had been stationed in the wings, through fear, or a spirit of mutiny, abandoned their post, and seized a piece of solid ground beyond the morasses. Arminius, though the opportunity was fair, did not embrace it: but soon after, seeing the baggage fast in the mud, or in the ditches; the soldiers gathering round in tumult and disorder; the eagles in confusion; and, as in such cases always happens, each man acting for himself, and deaf to the command of his officers; he ordered his men to make a vigorous onset, exclaiming, as he advanced, "Behold Varus and his legions! their fate once more has given them to our swords."

He charged at the head of a chosen band; and, by gashing and mangling the horses, made a dreadful havoc. Goaded by wounds, and not able to keep their legs on a slimy foil, which was made still more slippery by the effusion of their own blood, those animals in their fury threw their riders, overturned all in their way, and trampled under their feet the wretches that lay on the ground. The chief distress was round the eagles: to support them under a heavy volley of darts was difficult, and to fix them in the swampy ground impossible. Cæcina, exerting himself with undaunted vigour to sustain the ranks, had his horse killed under

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under him. The Barbarians were ready to surround him, if the first legion had not come up to his assistance. At length the rage for plunder, natural to savages, turned the fortune of the day. Intent on booty, the Germans desisted from the fight. The Romans seized their advantage, and towards the close of day gained a station on the solid ground. Their distress, however, was not at an end: entrenchments were to be raised; earth to be brought; their tools for digging and cutting the soil, were lost; no tents for the soldiers; no medicine for the wounded; their provisions in a vile condition, deformed with filth and blood; a night big with horror hung over their heads; and the ensuing day, to a number of brave and gallant men, might prove the last. The spirit of the legions sunk, and all lamented their condition.

LXVI. It happened, in the course of the night, that a horse broke loose; and, scared by the noise of the soldiers, ran wild through the camp, trampling down all that came in his way. This accident spread a general panic. In the first hurry of surprise, it was generally believed that the Germans had stormed the entrenchments. The soldiers rushed to the gates, chiefly to that called the *Decuman* (*a*), at the back of the camp, remote from the enemy, and the most likely to favour their escape. Cæcina knew that it was a false alarm; he tried to recal the men from their error; he commanded, he implored, he laid hold of numbers: but finding all without effect, he threw himself on the ground, and lay stretched at length across the passage. At the sight of their general in that condition, the men recoiled with horror from the outrage of trampling on his body. In that interval, the tribunes and centurions convinced the men that their fears were without foundation.

LXVII. CÆCINA assembled his men in the part of the camp
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assigned for the eagles. Having commanded silence, he explained their situation, and the necessity that called upon them to act like men. "They had nothing to depend upon except their valour; but their valour must be cool, deliberate, guided by prudence. Let all remain within the lines, till the Barbarians, in hopes of carrying the works, advance to the assault. Then will be the time to fall out. By one brave effort they might open a passage to the Rhine. If they fled, other woods, and deeper fens, remained behind; perhaps more savage enemies. By one glorious victory they were sure of gaining every advantage; honoured by their country, loved by their families, and applauded by the whole army." The bright side of the military life being thus held forth, he said nothing of the reverse. His next care was to select a body of his bravest soldiers. These he provided with horses, as well from his own retinue, as from those of the tribunes and centurions, without favour or partiality, distinguishing merit only. The men thus mounted were to make the first impression on the enemy, and the infantry had orders to support the rear.

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LXVIII. THE Germans, in the mean time, were no less in agitation; their hopes of conquest, the love of plunder, and the jarring counsels of their chiefs, distracted every mind. The measure proposed by Arminius was, to let the Romans break up their camp, and surround them again in the narrow defiles, and in the bogs and marshes. Inguiomer, more fierce and violent, and for that reason more acceptable to the genius of Barbarians, was for storming the camp: it would be carried by a general assault; the number of prisoners would be greater, and the booty in better condition. His advice prevailed. At the point of day the attack began: at the first onset the Germans levelled the fosse, threw in heaps of hurdles, and attempted a scalade. The ramparts were
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thinly manned; the soldiers, who shewed themselves, put on the appearance of a panic. The Barbarians climbed to the top of the works. In that moment the signal was given to the cohorts; clarions and trumpets founded through the camp; the Romans in a body, and with one general shout, rushed on to the attack. They fell upon the enemy in the rear; crying aloud, as they advanced, "Here are no woods, no treacherous fens; we are here on equal ground, and the gods will decide between us." The Barbarians had promised themselves an easy conquest. The affair, they imagined, would be with a handful of men; but their surprise rose in proportion, when they heard the clangour of trumpets, and saw the field glittering with arms. The sudden terror magnified their danger. To be elated with success, and to droop in adversity, is the genius of savage nations. A dreadful slaughter followed. The two chiefs betook themselves to flight; Arminius unhurt, and Inguimer dangerously wounded. No quarter was given to the common men. The pursuit continued as long as day-light and resentment lasted. Night coming on, the legions returned to their camp, covered with new wounds, and their provisions no better than the day before: but health, and food, and vigour, all things were found in victory.

LXIX. MEANWHILE a report was spread round the country, that the Roman army was cut to pieces, and the Germans, flushed with conquest, were pouring down to the invasion of Gaul. The consternation was such, that numbers proposed to demolish the bridge over the Rhine. Vile as the project was, there were men who, through fear, would have been hardy enough to carry it into execution, if Agrippina had not prevented so foul a disgrace. Superior to the weakness of her sex, she took upon her, with an heroic spirit, the functions of a general officer. She attended to the wants of the men; she distributed clothes to the indigent,

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and

and medicines to the sick. Pliny (*a*) has left, in his history of the wars in Germany, a description of Agrippina, at the head of the bridge, reviewing the soldiers as they returned, and with thanks and congratulations applauding their valour. This conduct alarmed the jealous temper of Tiberius: "Such active zeal," he said, "sprung from sinister motives: those popular virtues had not for their object the enemies of Rome. The soldiers were cared for other purposes. What remained for the commander in chief, if a woman can thus unsex herself at the head of the eagles? She reviews the legions, and by largesses draws to herself the affections of the men. Was it not enough for her ambition, that she shewed her son to the army, and carried him from tent to tent, in the uniform of the common soldier, with the title of Cæsar Caligula? This woman towers above the commanders of the legions, and even above their general officer. She can suppress an insurrection, though the name and majesty of the prince makes no impression." These were the reflections that planted thorns in the breast of Tiberius. By the arts of Sejanus, the malice of his heart was still more envenomed. That minister studied the character of his master. He practised on his passions, and had the skill to sow in time the seeds of hatred, which he knew would work in secret, and at a distant day break out with collected force.

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LXX. GERMANICUS, who had failed with the legions, thought proper to lighten his ships, in order to render them more fit for the navigation of the Northern seas, full of sand banks, and often dangerous both at the flood and the tide of ebb. With this view, he disembarked the second and the fourteenth legions, and put them under the command of Publius Vitellius (*a*), with directions to pursue their way over land. Vitellius had at first a dry shore; But the wind blowing hard from the north, and the waves, as

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usual at the equinox, rolling with a prodigious swell, the soldiers were carried away by the torrent. The country was laid under water. The sea, the shore, and the fields presented one vast expanse. The depths and shallows, the quicksands and the solid ground, were no more distinguished. The men were overwhelmed by the waves, and absorbed by the eddies. Horses, baggage, and dead bodies were seen floating together. The companies of the legions were mixed in wild confusion, sometimes breast-high in water, and often deeper. Numbers were carried off by the flood, and lost for ever. Exhortations and mutual encouragement were of no avail. Valour and cowardice, prudence and temerity, wisdom and folly, perished without distinction. Vitellius at length gained an eminence, and drew the legions after him. The night was passed in the utmost distress; without fire, without utensils; many of the soldiers naked; the greatest part wounded, and all in a condition worse than the horrors of a siege. When the enemy is at the gates, an honourable death still remains; but here their fate was wretched and inglorious. The return of day presented a new face of things: the waters subsided, and the land appeared. The general pursued his march to the river Unsingis (*b*), where Germanicus was arrived with his fleet. The two legions were taken on board. A report of their total loss was spread far and wide, and every day gained credit, till their safe return with Germanicus proved the whole to be a false alarm.

LXXI. MEANWHILE Stertinius, who had been dispatched to receive the surrender of Segimer, the brother of Segestes, conducted that chief, together with his son, to the city of the Ubians. A free pardon was granted to both: to Segimer, without hesitation; to the son, who was known to have offered indignities to the body of Varus, not without some delay. Gaul, Spain, and Italy seemed to vie with each other in exertions to repair the

losses of the army; each nation offering, according to their respective abilities, a supply of arms, of horses, and money. Germanicus thanked them for their zeal, but received arms and horses only. With his own funds he relieved the wants of the foldiers; and to obliterate, or at least soften, the recollection of past misfortunes, he united with generosity the most conciliating manners. He visited the sick; he applauded their bravery; he examined their wounds; he encouraged some by promises; he roused others to a sense of glory; and, in general, filled all hearts with zeal for his person and the success of his arms.

LXXII. TRIUMPHAL ornaments (*a*) were this year decreed to Aulus Cæcina, Lucius Apronius, and Caius Silius, for their conduct under Germanicus. The title of *Father of his Country*, so often pressed upon him by the people, Tiberius once more declined; nor would he consent that men should be sworn on his acts, though a vote for that purpose had passed the senate. For this self-denial, he alleged the instability of human affairs, and the danger of the sovereign, always growing in proportion to the eminence on which he stands. Popular as this sentiment was, no man thought it sincere. He who had lately revived, in all its rigour, the law of violated majesty, could not be considered as the friend of civil liberty. The title, indeed, of that law was known in ancient times, but the spirit of it differed from the modern practice. During the old republic, the treachery that betrayed an army, the seditious spirit that threw the state into convulsions, the corrupt administration that impaired the majesty of the Roman people, were the objects of the law. Men were arraigned for their actions, but words were free. Augustus (*b*) was the first who warped the law to new devices. The licentious spirit of Cassius Severus, whose satirical pen had ridiculed the most eminent of both sexes, excited the indignation of the

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prince; and the pains and penalties of violated majesty were, by a forced construction, extended to defamatory libels. After his example, Tiberius, being asked by the prætor, Pompeius Macer, whether in such prosecutions judgment should be pronounced, returned for answer, that the law must take its course. The fact was, Tiberius in his turn had felt the edge of satire in certain anonymous verses, circulated at that time, and keenly pointed at his pride, his cruelty, and his dissensions with his mother.

LXXIII. It will not be deemed an improper digression, if we state in this place the cases of two Roman knights, Falanius and Rubrius, both of narrow fortunes, and both attacked under the new mode of prosecution. A review of those proceedings will shew the grievance in its origin, and its progress (*a*); how it gathered strength from the wily arts of Tiberius; from what causes it was for a time suppressed, and afterwards revived in all its force, till it proved in the end the most detestable invention that ever harassed mankind. The charge against Falanius was, that he had admitted into one of the fraternities, then established in honour of Augustus, one Cassius, a comedian of profligate manners; and further that, in the sale of his gardens, he had suffered a statue of Augustus to be put up to auction with the rest of his goods. The crime alleged against Rubrius was, that, being sworn on the name of Augustus, he was guilty of perjury. Tiberius, as soon as he was apprised of these proceedings, wrote to the consuls—"that divine honours were not decreed to the
 "memory of his father, in order to lay snares for the people.
 "Cassius the player, as well as others of his profession, had often
 "assisted in the games dedicated by Livia to the memory of the
 "deceased emperor; and if his statue, in common with those of
 "the gods in general, was put up to sale with the house and gar-
 "dens, the interests of religion would not be hurt. A false oath
 "on

“on the name of Augustus was the same as a perjury in an
“appeal to Jupiter: but the gods must be their own avengers.”

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LXXIV. IN a short time after this transaction, Granius Marcellus, prætor of Bithynia, was accused of violated majesty by his own quæstor, Cæpio Crispinus. The charge was supported by Romanus Hispo (*a*), a mercenary advocate, who had then lately set up the trade of an informer; that detestable trade, which, by the iniquity of the times, and the daring wickedness of the vile and profligate, became afterwards the source of wealth and splendour. Obscure and indigent, but bold and pragmatical, this man by secret informations pampered the cruelty of Tiberius, and wriggled himself into favour. By his detestable practices he became formidable to the first characters in Rome. He gained the ear of the prince, and the hatred of mankind; leaving an example, by which the whole race of his followers rose from beggary and contempt to wealth and power; till, having wrought the destruction of the most eminent citizens, they fell at last by their own pernicious arts. The accusation brought by Cæpio Crispinus, charged Marcellus with having spoken defamatory words against Tiberius. The charge was big with danger, while the accuser had the art to bring forward, from the life of the emperor, the worst of his vices; ascribing all to the malignity of Marcellus. The words were believed to be spoken, because the facts were true.

Hispo the pleader added, that the accused had placed his own statue higher than the Cæsars; and to a bust, from which he had struck off the head of Augustus (*b*), united that of Tiberius. The prince, who had hitherto remained silent, rose abruptly; declaring, in a tone of vehemence, that in a cause of that importance he would give his vote openly (*c*), and under the sanction
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of an oath. By this expedient the same obligation was to be imposed on the whole assembly. But even then, in that black period, expiring liberty shewed some signs of life. Cneius Piso had the spirit to ask, "In what rank, Cæsar, do you choose to give your voice? If first, your opinion must be mine; if last, I may have the misfortune to differ from you." Tiberius felt that his warmth had transported him too far. He checked his ardour, and had the moderation to consent that Marcellus should be acquitted on the law of violated majesty. There remained behind a charge of peculation (*d*), and that was referred to the proper jurisdiction.

LXXV. THE criminal proceedings before the senate were not enough to glut the malice of Tiberius: he attended the ordinary courts of justice; taking his seat near the corner of the tribunal, that he might not displace the prætor from his curule chair. In his presence, which had the effect of controuling the intrigues of the great, several just decisions were pronounced: but even this was big with mischief; truth was served (*a*), and liberty went to ruin. Pius Aurelius, a member of the senate, complained to that assembly, that, by the making of a public road, and laying an aqueduct, the foundation of his house was ruined; he therefore prayed to be indemnified. The prætors of the treasury opposed his petition. Tiberius, however, struck with the justice of the case, paid the value of the house. The littleness of avarice was no part of his character. When fair occasions called for liberality, he was ready to open his purse; and this munificent spirit he retained for a long time, when every other virtue was extinguished. Propertius Celer, a man of prætorian family, but distressed in his circumstances, desired to abdicate his rank of senator. The state of indigence in which he lived being found to be the consequence of hereditary poverty, he

he received a donation of a thousand great sesterces. A number of applications of the same nature followed soon after; but Tiberius required that the allegations of each petition should be proved. The austerity of his nature mixed with his best actions a leaven of harshness, that embittered his favours. By the rigour of the prince distress was silenced: ingenuous minds chose to languish in obscurity, rather than seek, by humiliating confessions, a precarious, and at best a painful, relief.

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LXXVI. IN the course of this year, the Tiber, swelled by continual rains, laid the level parts of the city under water. When the flood subsided, men and houses were washed away by the torrent. Asinius Gallus proposed to consult the books of the Sybils (*a*); but Tiberius, dark and abstruse in matters of religion as well as civil business, overruled the motion. The care of preventing inundations for the future was committed to Ateius Capito and Lucius Arruntius. The provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, being found unequal to the taxes imposed upon them, were relieved from the expence of supporting a proconsular government (*b*), and for the present transferred to the superintendence of the emperor. Drusus, in his own name, and that of his brother Germanicus, exhibited a spectacle of gladiators, and presided in person; delighted, more than became his rank, with the effusion of blood, and, by consequence, giving to the populace no favourable impression of his character. Tiberius, it is said, reproved him for his indiscretion. Why he himself did not attend the public games, various reasons were assigned. According to some, "numerous assemblies were not his taste, and "crowds fatigued him." Others ascribed it to the phlegmatic genius of the man, fond of solitude, and willing to avoid a comparison with the gracious manners of Augustus, who was always a cheerful spectator on such occasions. That he intended, with
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covered malice, to afford Drusus an opportunity of laying open the ferocity of his nature, and thereby of giving umbrage to the people, seems rather a strained construction; yet even this was said at the time.

LXXVII. THE disorders, occasioned by theatrical factions in the preceding year, broke out again with increasing fury. Numbers of the common people, and even many of the soldiers, with their centurion, exerting themselves to quell the tumult, and defend the magistrate, were killed in the fray. A tribune of the prætorian guard was wounded on the occasion. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate. The fathers were on the point of passing a vote, investing the prætor with authority to order the players to be publicly whipped. This was opposed by Haterius Agrippa, a tribune of the people, who by his speech drew upon himself a sharp reply from Asinius Gallus. Tiberius with deep reserve listened to the debate. To see the senators amusing themselves with a show of liberty, filled him with secret satisfaction. The motion, however, passed in the negative. The authority of Augustus, who had formerly decided that the players were not liable to that mode of punishment (*a*), had great weight with the fathers; and what was established by that prince, Tiberius would not presume to alter. To fix the salary (*b*) of the players at a certain sum, and to repress the zeal of their partizans, several decrees were passed: the most material were, “That no senator should enter the house of a
“pantomime performer; that the Roman knights should not
“attend the players in the street; no exhibition to be presented
“in any place except the theatre; and all who engaged in riots
“were liable to be banished by the sentence of the prætor.”

LXXVIII. IN consequence of a petition from Spain, leave was given to erect a temple to Augustus in the colony of Terragon.

By

By this decree a precedent was held forth to all the provinces. The people of Rome presented a petition, praying that the payment of the hundredth part (*a*), which was a tax on all vendible commodities imposed since the close of the civil wars, might be remitted for the future. Tiberius declared, by public edict, “ That
 “ the support of the army depended upon that fund; and even
 “ with those resources the commonwealth was unequal to the
 “ charge, unless the veterans were retained in the service for the
 “ full term of twenty years.” By this artful stroke, the regulations limiting the time to sixteen years, which had been extorted during the sedition in Germany, were in effect repealed, and rendered void for the future.

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LXXIX. A PROJECT to prevent inundations, by giving a new course to the lakes and rivers that empty themselves into the Tiber, was proposed to the senate by Lucius Arruntius and Ateius Capito. The municipal towns and colonies were heard in opposition to the measure. The Florentines stated, “ That if
 “ the Clanis were diverted from its channel, and made to flow
 “ by a new course into the Arno, their whole country would be
 “ ruined.” The inhabitants of Interamna made the like objection; contending that “ if the Nar, according to the plan proposed, were divided into various rivulets, the most fertile plains
 “ in Italy would be no better than a barren waste.” Nor did the people of Reaté remain silent: they remonstrated that “ if the
 “ communication, by which the lake Velinus fell into the Nar, were
 “ obstructed, the adjacent country would be laid under water. Nature had wisely provided for the interests of man; it was she
 “ that assigned to rivers their fountain-head, their proper channel,
 “ and their influx into the sea. Besides this, the religion of the
 “ allies of Rome claimed respect. Considering the rivers of their
 “ country as under the patronage of tutelary gods, they had in

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“ various places established forms of worship, and dedicated their
“ priests, their altars, and their sacred groves. The Tiber too,
“ deprived of his tributary waters, would be reduced, not with-
“ out indignation, to an inglorious stream.” Convinced by this
reasoning, or deterred by the difficulty of the undertaking, per-
haps influenced by superstitious motives, the senate went over to
the opinion of Piso, who declared against all innovation.

LXXX. THE government of Mæsia was continued to Poppæus Sabinus, with the superadded provinces of Achaia and Macedonia. In the character of Tiberius it was a peculiar feature, that he was ever unwilling to remove men from their employments. Hence the same person remained for life at the head of the same army, or in the government of the same province. For this conduct different reasons have been assigned. By some we are told that he hated the pain of thinking; and, to avoid further solicitude, the choice, which he once made, was decided for life. Others will have it, that the malignity of his nature was the secret motive of a man, who did not wish to see too many made happy by his favours. The problem was solved by others in a different way. His discernment, they observe, was quick and penetrating; but his judgment slow and anxious. He thought with subtlety, and refined till he embarrassed himself; and, though he never was the patron of virtue, he detested vice. Superior merit made him tremble for himself, and he thought bad men a disgrace to the age. In this manner divided between opposite extremes, thinking without decision, and reasoning but to hesitate, he has been known to appoint to the government of provinces, men, whom he never suffered to depart from Rome.

LXXXI. OF the consular elections, either in this year, or during the rest of his reign, nothing can be said with precision.

His own speeches, as well as the historians of the time, are so much at variance, that nothing like system can be traced. We see the emperor, in some instances, holding the name of the candidate in reserve, yet by an account of his birth, his public conduct, and his military services, pointing directly to the man. At other times he refuses even that satisfaction, content with general directions to the candidates, not to embroil the election by intrigue or bribery, but to leave the whole to his management. His custom in general was to profess, that he knew no candidates but those, whose names he had transmitted to the consuls; others, he said, were free to offer themselves, if, from their merit or their interest, they conceived hopes of success. With speeches of this nature, plausible indeed, but unsubstantial, the people were amused. A show of liberty was held forth, fair in appearance, but deceitful, and, for that reason, tending to plunge mankind in deeper servitude.

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1. *COMMOTIONS in the East.* II. *Vonones sent from Rome to reign over the Parthians at their own request.* III. *He is deposed by the Parthians. Artabanus ascends the throne. Vonones flies to the Armenians, and is received as their king; but soon dethroned, and guarded as a prisoner by Silanus, the governor of Syria.* V. *Tiberius, under feigned pretences, thinks of recalling Germanicus from the command in Germany. The exploits of Germanicus before he leaves Germany. He builds a fleet, and makes war on the Cherusicans.* IX. *Interview between Arminius and his brother Flavius. Arminius defeated. He gives battle a second time with like success.* XXIII. *The Roman fleet suffers great damage in a violent storm. The behaviour of Germanicus. He repairs his ships, and chastises the Marsians; lays waste the country, and returns to winter quarters.* XXVI. *Tiberius persists in his resolution, and Germanicus returns to Rome.* XXVII. *Libo Drusus charged with designs against the state; his trial, and violent death. The conduct of the informers.* XXXIII. *The luxury of the times taken into consideration by the senate. Lucius Piso secedes from the senate, and threatens to go into voluntary exile. His law-suit with Urgulania, the favourite of Livia, and his firmness. The insolence of Urgulania.* XXXVII. *The poverty of Marcus Hortalus, grandson to Hortensius, the famous orator: he applies to the senate for relief; Tiberius opposes him.* XXXIX. *A man*
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of the name of Clemens pretends to be the real Agrippa Posthumus: he spreads an alarm, but is found to be one of Agrippa's slaves: is seized, and put to death by order of Tiberius. XLI. The public triumph of Germanicus for his victories in Germany. XLII. Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, drawn by artifice to Rome; his reception there, and his death. His kingdom reduced to a province. XLIII. Germanicus made governor of the east; and the province of Syria committed to Piso, with secret instructions from Livia and Tiberius. XLIV. Drusus sent into Illyricum, and why. Dissensions among the Germans. Arminius gains a victory over Maroboduus, king of the Suevians. XLVII. Twelve cities in Asia swallowed up by an earthquake. Tiberius grants relief to the distresses of the people. L. The law of violated majesty put in force. A woman charged with speaking disrespectfully of Augustus; and also of Tiberius and his mother. LII. Tacfarinas, a Numidian freebooter, raises an insurrection in Africa, but is defeated by Camillus. LIII. Germanicus, while on his way to Asia, is chosen consul in conjunction with Tiberius. He enters Armenia, and places Zeno on the throne. LVII. The contumacy of Piso: his interview with Germanicus. The latter makes a progress into Egypt, to see the monuments of antiquity. LXII. Maroboduus, driven out of Germany by Catualda, a German chief, flies into Italy: he lives twenty years at Ravenna, and dies there in obscurity. Catualda, in like manner expelled by his countrymen, is placed by the Romans at Forum Julium. LXIV. Rhescuporis, king of Thrace, murders his nephew, and is sent a prisoner to Rome. He is ordered to Alexandria, and there put to death. LXVIII. Vonones attempts to escape out of Cilicia; and, being taken, is killed by a veteran soldier. LXIX. Germanicus returns from Egypt. Animosities between him and Piso. Germanicus is seized with a fit of illness: he recovers, but has a relapse. Poison suspected.
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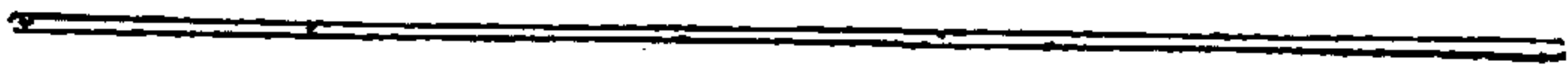
He takes leave of his friends. His last advice to his wife. His death, and the grief of all ranks of men. LXXIII. His funeral and his character. LXXIV. Sentius takes upon him the government of Syria. Piso, at the Isle of Coos, hears of the death of Germanicus; he returns to Syria, and endeavours to resume the command. LXXV. Agrippina embarks with the urn of Germanicus. Piso fails in his attempts, and is sent to Rome. LXXXIII. Honours decreed to the memory of Germanicus. LXXXV. Laws to restrain the lascivious behaviour of the women. LXXXVI. The choice of a new vestal virgin in the room of Occia, deceased. LXXXVII. Tiberius rejects the title of Father of his Country, and the name of Sovereign Lord. LXXXVIII. Arminius dies in Germany by the treachery of his own people. The character of that eminent chief.

These transactions include four years.

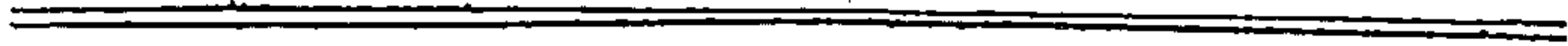
Years of Rome—of Christ	Consuls.
769	16 Statilius Sisenna Taurus, L. Scribonius Libo.
770	17 C. Cæcilius Rufus, L. Pomponius Flaccus Græcinus.
771	18 Tiberius Cæsar, 3d time; Germanicus, 2d.
772	19 M. Junius Silanus, L. Norbanus Flaccus.



T H E
A N N A L S
O F
T A C I T U S.



B O O K II.



I. **D**URING the consulship of Sisenna Statilius Taurus and Lucius Libo, the oriental kingdoms, and, by consequence, the Roman provinces were thrown into commotion. The flame of discord was lighted up among the Parthians. That restless people had sued for a king at the hands of Rome; and after acknowledging his title, as a descendant from the line of the Arsacides (*a*), began with their natural levity to despise him, as an alien to the crown. Vonones was the name of this unpopular prince: he had been formerly sent by his father Phraates (*b*) as an hostage to Augustus. The Eastern monarch made head against the armies of Rome, and had driven her generals out of his dominions; but he endeavoured, notwithstanding, by every

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mark of respect, to conciliate the friendship of Augustus. As a pledge of sincerity, he went the length of delivering up to the custody of the Romans even his own children, not so much with a design to avert the terror of their arms, as from want of confidence in the fidelity of his own subjects.

II. AFTER the death of Phraates, and the kings who succeeded him, the leading men of the nation, tired of civil slaughter, sent ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to invite Vonones, the eldest son of Phraates, to the throne of his ancestors. A nation ready to receive a sovereign from the will of Augustus, presented to that emperor (*a*) a scene truly magnificent. He dispatched Vonones, richly loaded with presents. The Barbarians, pleased, as is their custom, with the opening of a new reign, received the prince with all demonstrations of joy. But disaffection soon took place; they repented of their choice, and saw, with regret, the disgrace which their tame submission had brought upon their country. “The Parthians,” they said, “were a degenerate race, who meanly stooped to sue in another world, and invited to reign over them an exotic king, trained up by the Romans, fraught with their maxims, and tainted by their manners. The kingdom of the Arsacides was at length reduced to a Roman province, to be dealt out at the pleasure of the emperor. Where now the glory of those gallant heroes who put Crassus to death, and made Mark Anthony fly before them? The slave of Cæsar, who crouched so many years in bondage, gives the law to the Parthians.” Such were the prejudices of the people. The conduct of Vonones inflamed their indignation. He renounced the manners of his country; was rarely seen in the sports of the chase; he took no delight in horsemanship, and in his progress through the kingdom lolled at ease in a litter. He disdained, with fastidious pride, to have his table served agreeably to

to the national taste; his train of Greek attendants gave disgust; and the paltry attention, that secured the most trifling articles under a seal (*b*), excited the contempt and ridicule of the people. To be easy of access, was want of dignity; and courteous manners degraded the prince. Virtues new to the Parthians were new vices. Between his good and evil qualities no distinction was made: they were foreign manners, and for that reason detested.

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III. IN this disposition of the public mind, the crown was offered to Artabanus, a descendant of Arfaces, educated among the Dahi. This prince, after a defeat in his first engagement, reinforced his army, and gained possession of the crown. Vonones fled to Armenia (*a*), where, in that juncture, the throne was vacant; but an irresolute and wavering people could form no settled plan. They turned their thoughts first to Rome, and next to the Parthians, acting with alternate treachery to both. The insidious conduct of Mark Anthony, who allured their king Artavasdes to his friendship, then loaded him with chains, and basely murdered him, was fresh in their minds. Artaxias, the son of that unfortunate prince, conceived from that tragic event a rooted aversion to the Roman name. He ascended the throne of his father, and with the assistance of the Parthians stood at bay with Rome, till he fell at last by the perfidy of his own relations. After his death, Tigranes, by the appointment of Augustus, was raised to the throne. Tiberius Nero, at the head of a powerful army, conducted him to the capital of his dominions. The reign of this prince was short. His issue succeeded; but the line became extinct, notwithstanding the intermarriages of brother and sister (*b*), allowed by the policy of eastern nations, to strengthen the royal line. By order of Augustus, Artavasdes (*c*) succeeded. To support his cause, Rome exerted her strength,

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and spilt the blood of her armies, but without success. The new king was driven from the throne.

IV. IN that juncture (*a*), Caius Cæsar was sent to compose the troubles in Armenia. With the consent of the people, that young commander placed the crown on the head of Ariobarzanes, by birth a Mede, distinguished by his rare accomplishments, and his graceful figure. After the death of this prince, who lost his life by an accident, the people refused obedience to his descendants. A woman of the name of Erato succeeded; but a female reign did not last long. From that time the nation continued in a state of anarchy, without a master, yet not in possession of liberty. It was in this posture of affairs that Vonones entered Armenia. The people received him with open arms. Artabanus, in the mean time, threatened to invade the kingdom. The Armenians were not in force; and Rome, without undertaking an expensive war against the Parthians, could not espouse their cause. Vonones fled for shelter to Creticus Silanus (*b*), the governor of Syria. That officer promised his protection; but afterwards thought proper to secure the person of the prince, leaving him, under a strong guard, to enjoy the title of king, and the parade of royalty. The efforts which Vonones made to escape from this mock-dignity, shall be related in due time.

V. TIBERIUS, with his usual phlegm, saw the storm gathering in the East. Commotions in that part of the world might furnish an opportunity to remove Germanicus from an army devoted to his person, and to employ him in new scenes of action, and in distant provinces, where he would be exposed to the chance of war, and more within the reach of treachery. Germanicus, meanwhile, finding the legions zealous in his service, and the malice of Tiberius still implacable, began to consider how he might
strike

strike a decisive blow, and by one signal victory conclude the war. For this purpose he reviewed his operations in the three last campaigns, with the various turns of good and evil fortune which he had experienced. He observed that, “the Germans, in a pitched battle, or on equal ground, were always defeated; woods and fens protected them; and the shortness of the summer, with the quick return of winter, favoured their cause. It was not so much the sword of the enemy, as the fatigue of long and difficult marches, that thinned the Roman army. The loss of military weapons was an additional evil. Horses were not to be procured in Gaul, that country being well nigh exhausted. The baggage of the army, liable to ambuscades, was always defended at great disadvantage. An expedition by sea promised better success. The army might penetrate at once into the heart of the country; and the Germans, unapprised of that mode of attack, would be taken by surprise. The campaign would be sooner opened; the legions and their provisions might advance together; men and horses would arrive in good condition; and, with the advantage of harbours for the fleet, and navigable rivers up the country, the war might be pushed to the very heart of Germany.”

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VI. THIS plan of operations being judged the best, he sent Publius Vitellius and Caius Cantius to convene the states of Gaul; and, in the mean time, committed the care of building a fleet to Silius, Anteius, and Cæcina. A thousand vessels (that number being deemed sufficient) were soon in readiness, but not all constructed on one uniform principle. Some were of a shorter size, sharpened to a point at the stern and prow, and broad in the middle, the better to endure the fury of the waves; others were flat-bottomed, that they might without difficulty run in upon the shore. A great number had rudders at each end, that, by a sudden

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sudden turn of the oars, they might work with facility either way. In many of the ships, formed as well to carry sail as to advance with the stroke of the oar, arches were raised on the decks, of strength to bear the engines of war, and at the same time afford room for horses and provisions. The fleet, thus equipped, displayed a magnificent spectacle; while the swell of the sails, the alacrity of the oars, and the bustle of the soldiers, struck a general terror. The isle of Batavia (*a*) was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. The shore in those parts being easy of approach, the troops might be speedily landed, and again embarked with expedition, so as to spread an alarm through the country. The Rhine, embracing in its course a few small islands, flows in one united stream, till it reaches the point of Batavia; where it branches off in two different channels; one running with rapid force along the confines of Germany, and, till it falls into the ocean, still retaining its original name; the other, with a wider but less violent current, washes the side of Gaul, and by the inhabitants is called the Wahal, till at last, losing itself in the Meuse, it takes the name of that river, and through an immense opening discharges itself into the German Ocean.

VII. WHILE the fleet was preparing for the expedition, Germanicus ordered Silius, with a light detachment, to make an irruption into the territory of the Cattians. Meanwhile, having intelligence that the fort upon the river Luppia was invested, he marched himself, at the head of six legions, to relieve the garrison. A sudden fall of heavy rains obliged Silius to desist from his enterprize. He returned with a moderate booty, and two prisoners; one the wife, the other the daughter, of Arpus, prince of the Cattians. Germanicus was not able to bring the Germans to an engagement. He no sooner appeared before the place, than the enemy

enemy raised the siege, and consulted their safety by flight. It was found, however, that they had levelled to the ground the monument erected the year before to Varus and his legions, and likewise an ancient altar dedicated to Drusus. The prince rebuilt the altar; and joining with the legions in equestrian games, performed a funeral ceremony (*a*) in honour of his father. He did not judge it advisable to restore the tomb, which had been erected to Varus and the legions; but, with a chain of fortified posts, he secured the whole country between Fort Aliso and the Rhine.

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VIII. THE fleet assembled at the place appointed. Germanicus ordered the military stores to be sent on board; and, having completed the embarkation of the legions and the allies, sailed through the canal, called the canal of Drusus (*a*), invoking his father to assist the enterprize, and by the memory of his example to guide and animate his son, now pursuing the same track of glory. The fleet proceeded over the lakes (*b*); and, entering the German Ocean, stretched away as far as the river Amisia. There, at a place of the same name (*c*) on the left-hand shore, he landed his men, leaving his ships safe at their moorings. This measure was ill concerted. The debarkation should have been made higher up the country, and on the opposite bank, where the enemy had taken post. The mistake made it necessary to throw bridges over the river, and in that business several days were consumed. At low water the cavalry and the legions forded over the æstuary without difficulty; but the rear, consisting of the auxiliary forces, was overtaken by the return of the tide, and thrown into disorder. The Batavians, in particular, eager to shew their dexterity in swimming, continued sporting in the waves, till the rapidity of the current overwhelmed them. Some lost their lives. Germanicus pitched his camp. While he was employed in marking out the lines, he received
advice

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advice that the Angrivarians, whom he had left behind him, were in motion. To check their progress, he sent a detachment of light infantry, under the command of Stertinius, who chastised the treachery of the Barbarians, and laid the country waste with fire and sword.

IX. THE Visurgis flowed between the Romans and Cheruscans. On the opposite bank Arminius presented himself. He was attended by the principal German chiefs. His business was to know whether Germanicus was with the army being answered in the affirmative, he desired an interview with his brother, known to the Romans by the name of Flavius; a man of strict fidelity, who some years before, under the conduct of Tiberius, lost an eye in battle. The meeting was permitted. Flavius advanced to the margin of the river. Arminius, from the opposite side, saluted him; and, having ordered his guards to fall back, required that the Roman archers should withdraw in like manner. The two brothers being left to themselves, Arminius fixed his eye on Flavius; and, Whence, he said, that deformity of feature? He was told the battle and the place where it happened. And what, continued Arminius, has been your recompence? I have received, said Flavius, an augmentation of pay (*a*), a military chain, an ornamental crown, and other honours. Arminius burst into a laugh of scorn and indignation. "They are the wages," he said, "of a slave cheaply purchased."

X. A WARM altercation followed. Flavius talked of the majesty of Rome, the power of the Cæsars, the weight with which their vengeance falls on the obstinate, and their clemency to the nations willing to submit. He added, "Your wife and son are in the hands of Rome, and neither of them has been treated like a captive." Arminius, on the contrary, urged the rights

of men born in freedom, the laws of his country, the plan of ancient liberty, and the gods of Germany. “Your mother,” he said, “joins with me in earnest supplication: we both conjure you not to desert your family; not to betray your friends, nor prefer the detested name of traitor, to the vast renown of commanding armies in defence of your country.” By degrees their passions rose to a pitch of fury, insomuch that the river could not have restrained them from deciding their quarrel by the sword, if Stertinius had not checked the impetuosity of Flavius, who stood burning with resentment, and calling aloud for his horse and his arms. Arminius behaved with equal fury, in his storm of passion denouncing vengeance, and threatening the issue of a battle. What he said was perfectly understood. He had commanded the auxiliaries of his country, acting in conjunction with the legions, and, having conversed in the Roman camp, was able to interlard his discourse with Latin expressions.

XI. ON the following day, the Germans appeared on the other side of the Vifurgis, drawn up in order of battle. Germanicus, till he had thrown bridges over the river, and made each pass secure, did not think it advisable to expose his legions to the hazard of an engagement. In the mean time, to cause a diversion of the enemy, he ordered the cavalry, under the conduct of Stertinius, and Æmilius, one of the principal centurions (*a*), to ford over at two different places. Cariovalda, at the head of his Batavians, advanced where the current was most rapid. The Cheruscans feigned a flight. Cariovalda pursuing with too much eagerness, pushed on to a place encompassed with woods, and fell into an ambuscade. The enemy rushed on to the attack with impetuous fury. They bore down all who resisted, and pressed on such as gave way. The Batavians formed a ring, and were surrounded on every side. The Germans, at a distance, discharged

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a volley of darts, while some of them, more eager than the rest, fought hand to hand in close engagement. Cariovalda sustained the flock with undaunted valour. Finding himself, at length, in danger of being overpowered, he exhorted his men to form in platoons, and bravely open a passage through the ranks of the enemy. He rushed forward into the heat of the action; but his horse being killed, he fell under a shower of darts, and died sword in hand. Several of the prime nobility of his country perished with him. The rest found their safety either in their own valour, or the timely succour of Stertinus and Æmilius, who came up with the cavalry.

XII. GERMANICUS, in the mean time, having passed the Visurgis, found by a deserter, that Arminius had already fixed upon a spot for a general action, and being reinforced by other nations, then actually assembled in a forest sacred to Hercules (*a*), was determined in the dead of night to storm the Roman camp. This intelligence was thought worthy of credit. The fires of the enemy gleamed at a distance; the scouts, who advanced to reconnoitre their posts, heard the neighing of horses, and the bustle of a prodigious but undisciplined multitude. In this important moment, on the eve of a decisive battle, the Roman general thought it a point of moment to explore the sentiments and inclinations of his men. How to accomplish this, with a degree of certainty, was a difficult point. The tribunes and centurions studied more to “bring in agreeable reports, than to relate the truth. The freedmen still retained an original leaven of servility, and friends were prone to flattery. In an assembly of the soldiers, a few forward spirits took the lead, and the whole herd was ready to follow. To sound the real sentiments of the army, the soldier must be taken in his unguarded moments, removed from the eye of his officer, at table with his comrades, when,

“ with frank simplicity he speaks his mind, and tells his hopes
 “ and fears without reserve.”

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XIII. As soon as night came on, the prince went forth, through the augural gate (*a*), covered with the skin of a wild beast. A single attendant followed him. He pursued his way through devious paths, unknown to the sentinels, stopping frequently near the tents, and listening to his own fame. The nobility of his descent was the topic with some; others praised the dignity of his person; the greater part talked of his patience, his courage, and that happy temperament, which, upon all occasions, severe or lively, still preserved the dignity of his character. To such a commander, the place to shew their gratitude was the field of battle; there the Barbarians ought to suffer for their perfidy; and there the violator of public treaties should be doomed a sacrifice to the glory of Germanicus. Amidst these discourses, a soldier from the adverse camp, who could speak the Roman language, rode up to the entrenchments, and, in the name of Arminius, proclaimed aloud a promise of wives and lands to every deserter, besides a hundred sesterces for his daily pay, during the continuance of the war. This was felt as an affront: the soldiers cried out with indignation, “ The dawn of day shall see us in the field: “ let Arminius risque a battle: the lands of his countrymen shall “ be ours by conquest, and their wives shall be carried off in cap- “ tivity. The offer is an omen of victory. The wealth and the “ women of Germany shall be the reward of valour.” At the third watch (*b*), the enemy advanced to the entrenchments; but perceiving the works properly guarded, the cohorts under arms, and all intent on duty, they retreated, without so much as throwing a single dart.

XIV. GERMANICUS retired to rest, and in his sleep was
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favoured with a joyful vision. Being employed, as he imagined, at a sacrifice, and the blood of the victim happening to stain his pontifical garment, his grandmother Livia made him a present of another robe, no less beautiful than magnificent. Pleased with this prognostic, which the auspices confirmed, he called an assembly of the soldiers, and, in a speech, acquainted them with his plan for the ensuing battle. The open plain, he observed, was not the only spot where the Romans could engage with advantage. Woods and forests were equally favourable. The unwieldy buckler of the Germans, and that enormous length of spear, which, amidst surrounding trees and interwoven thickets, was scarcely manageable, could not be compared to the Roman sword, the javelin, and their defensive armour, so well adapted to the shape and motions of the body. “Redouble your blows,” he said, “and strike at the face of the enemy. They have neither helmets, nor breast-plates. Their shields are neither rivetted with iron, nor covered with hides; they are nothing but osier twigs intertwined, or slight boards, daubed over with glaring colours. In their foremost ranks a few are provided with pikes and javelins; in the rest of their army you see nothing but stakes hardened in the fire, or weapons too short for execution. The aspect of their men may, at first sight, be hideous; in the onset they may have bodily vigour: but let them feel the anguish of their wounds, and they betake themselves to flight, impatient of pain, void of honour, and regardless of their officers; cowards in adversity, and, in the hour of success, above all laws, both human and divine. Do you wish, my fellow soldiers, for an end of all your toils? Are you weary of tedious voyages, and laborious marches? Now is your opportunity: one battle ends the war. The Elb is nearer than the Rhine. Beyond this spot we have nothing to subdue. It was here that Drusus, my father, triumphed; and here, Tiberius,

“ my

“ my uncle, reaped his laurels. Exert one vigorous effort, and
 “ you make me their rival, perhaps their equal in glory.” This
 speech was received with acclamations; and the ardour of the
 men blazing out at once, the signal for the charge was given.

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XV. ARMINIUS and the German chiefs omitted nothing that
 could rouse the courage of their men. “ Behold,” they said,
 “ the refuse of the Varian army; a set of dastards in the field,
 “ and rebels in their camp. With their backs seamed with stripes,
 “ their limbs enervated, their strength exhausted by tempestuous
 “ voyages, dispirited, weak, and void of hope, they are given to
 “ our swords, a sacrifice to the gods, and the victims of German
 “ valour. To avoid a fiercer enemy they fled to the ocean,
 “ where we could neither attack, nor hang upon their rear. In
 “ the ensuing battle the winds cannot befriend them; their oars
 “ can give them no assistance. Call to mind their pride, their
 “ avarice, and their cruelty: above all, let us remember to act
 “ like men, who have resolved to live in freedom, or to die with
 “ glory.”

XVI. By these and such like incentives the Germans were
 inflamed with uncommon ardour. Their chiefs conducted
 them, burning with impatience, to an open plain, called the
 Idistavifian vale (*a*), situate between the Visurgis and a chain of
 mountains. The ground was of an irregular form, narrow in
 some parts, where the hills projected forward, and in others,
 where the windings of the river made an opening, stretching
 into length. In the rear of the Germans, and at a small distance,
 rose a thick forest (*b*); the trees large and lofty, with branches
 expanding near the top; but the trunks bare towards the bottom,
 and the intermediate space clear of underwood. Of this plain,
 and the approaches to the wood, the Barbarians took possession.

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The Cheruscans, apart from the rest (*c*), took post on the hills, to watch the fortune of the day, and in good time to pour down with fury on the Roman army. Germanicus ranged his men in the following order: the Gauls and German auxiliaries formed the front of the line, followed by a body of archers on foot, and four legions, with Germanicus at the head of two prætorian cohorts, and a select body of cavalry. Four other legions, with the light infantry, the horse-archers, and the remainder of the allies, brought up the rear. The whole army proceeded in order of battle, all instructed to preserve their ranks, and to receive with firmness the first impression of the enemy.

XVII. THE Cheruscans, too impatient to keep their post, rushed with impetuosity from their hills. Germanicus no sooner saw their motions, than he sent a chosen body of horse to charge them in flank, while Stertinius, with another detachment, wheeled round to fall upon the rear. The general himself was ready, if occasion required, to second the attack at the head of the legions. In that moment eight eagles were seen stretching with rapid wing towards the wood, where they entered, and disappeared. This was received as an omen of victory. "Advance," said Germanicus; "the Roman birds have marshalled you the way. Pursue the tutelar deities of the legions." The infantry began the assault in front: the cavalry, at the same time, charged the flank and rear. The Barbarians, thrown into confusion, presented an uncommon spectacle: those who had been stationed in the woods were driven forward to the plain; and from the plain, the foremost lines fled for shelter to the woods. Between both the Cheruscans were driven down from their heights. Arminius, their chief, performed wonders. Wounded as he was, he braved every danger; with his voice, with his hand, with every effort still sustaining the combat. He fell with fury on the

the archers, and would have opened his way, had not the Rhætian cohorts, with the Gauls and the Vindelici, advanced their standards to oppose him. Indebted to his own exertions, and the vigour of his horse, he escaped from the field; and, to disguise his person, besmeared his face with his own blood. If report is to be credited, the Chaucians, then serving as the allies of Rome, knew his person, but connived at his escape.

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By the like gallant behaviour, or a similar treachery, Inguioner survived the havock of the day. A general carnage followed. Numbers endeavouring to swim across the Visurgis, perished in the attempt, overwhelmed with darts, or carried away by the violence of the current. The multitude that plunged into the water obstructed one another; and, the banks giving way, were crushed under the load. Some were dastardly enough to seek their safety by climbing up the trees, where they hoped to sculk among the branches: but the Roman archers, in sport and derision, took aim at the fugitives; and in that manner, or by felling the trees, they were all destroyed. The victory was signal, and cost the Romans little or no effusion of blood.

XVIII. THE slaughter lasted from the fifth hour (*a*) to the close of day. The country, ten miles round, was covered with mangled bodies, and the arms of the vanquished. Among the spoils was found a large quantity of fetters, which the Barbarians, anticipating a certain victory, had prepared for the Roman prisoners. The legions on the field of battle proclaimed Tiberius IMPERATOR (*b*); and having raised a mount, placed on the top of it a pile of German arms, as the trophies of victory, with an inscription at the base, setting forth the names of the conquered nations.

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XIX. To the German mind nothing could be so exasperating as this monument of Roman glory. The wounds received in battle, the desolation of their country, and the wretched condition to which they were reduced, were all as nothing compared to this insulting memorial. Preparing but a little before to abandon their habitations, and seek new settlements beyond the Elbe, they changed their minds, and once more resolved to try the hazard of a battle. The nobles and the populace, the old and young, all ranks and classes of men appeared in arms. They pursued the Romans on their march; they harassed the rear, and often threw them into disorder. Resolved at length to risk a battle, they chose for that purpose a narrow and swampy plain, inclosed on one side by a river (*a*), and on the other by a thick wood, at the back of which lay a deep morass. A rampart, formerly thrown up by the Angrivarians, as a barrier between themselves and the Cheruscans, inclosed one side of the fen. On this spot the Barbarians stationed their infantry. Their cavalry lay in ambush in the woods, with intent, as soon as the Romans advanced, to attack them by surprise, and cut off the rear of the army.

XX. GERMANICUS had intelligence of all that passed. Their stations, their councils of war, their public debates, their secret resolutions were all discovered; and their own devices were turned against themselves. The command of the horse was given to Seius Tubero, with orders to form on the open plain. The infantry was so disposed, that by an easy pass one division might penetrate into the woods, while the other carried the rampart by assault. Whatever was difficult or arduous the general reserved for himself, leaving all flighter operations to his officers. On the level plain the cavalry bore down all before them;

them; but the rampart was not easily taken. The soldiers who advanced to the attack were as much exposed to the darts of the enemy, as if they had been before the walls of a regular fortification. Germanicus saw the disadvantage. He drew off the legions; and ordered the engineers and slingers to play upon the works, in order to drive the Barbarians from their post. A volley of darts was discharged from the battering machines with such incessant fury, that the bravest of the Germans, who dared to face every danger, died under repeated wounds. The enemy was dislodged from the rampart. Germanicus, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, advanced into the woods: the battle there was fierce and obstinate: both sides fought hand to hand. Behind the Barbarians lay the morasses; in the rear of the Romans the river and the woods; no room to retreat; valour their only hope, and victory their only safety.

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XXI. THE martial spirit of the Germans yielded in nothing to the Romans; but their weapons, and their manner of fighting, were a great disadvantage. Pent up in a forest too close for such a multitude, they could neither wound at a distance, nor manage their weapons with their usual agility. The Romans, on the contrary, with their bucklers close to the breast, and their hands covered with the hilt of their swords, found the large proportions of the enemy an easy mark. They gashed the Barbarians in the face, and drove them from their ranks. Arminius no longer fought with his usual ardour. Ill success, so often repeated, depressed his spirit; or perhaps the wound, which he had received in the late engagement, had exhausted his strength. Inguiomer, performing wonders, and busy in every part of the field, was abandoned by his fortune, not by his courage. Germanicus threw off his helmet, that his person might be better distinguished; and rushing among the ranks, exhorted his men to give

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no quarter. He cried aloud, "We have no need of prisoners: extirpate the Barbarians; nothing less will end the war." The day being far advanced, he ordered one of the legions to quit the field, in order to prepare an encampment: the rest had their measure of revenge, till the approach of night put an end to the effusion of blood. In this battle the Roman cavalry fought with undecided success.

XXII. GERMANICUS in a public harangue commended the valour of his army; and afterwards raised a pile of arms as a trophy of victory, with this splendid inscription: "The army of Tiberius Cæsar, having subdued the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe, dedicates this monument to Mars, to Jupiter, and Augustus." Of the commander in chief no mention was made. To soften envy, he assumed no part of the praise, content with deserving it. Stertinius marched into the territory of the Angrivarians, with orders, if they did not submit, to lay the country waste. The Barbarians surrendered at discretion, and received a general pardon.

XXIII. THE summer being now far advanced, Germanicus ordered some of the legions to return by land to winter quarters; he himself sailed with the rest, down the river Amisia, to the main ocean. The weather was favourable, and the sea presented a perfect calm, unruffled by any motion, except what was occasioned by the dashing of the oars, and the rapid motion of a thousand vessels under sail. But this serenity did not last long: the sky was overcast; a storm of hail burst down with sudden fury (*a*); squalls of wind drove the billows different ways, and the pilot could no longer see what course to steer. Unused to the tempestuous element, and terrified by the novelty of the danger, the soldiers added to the alarm. They interfered with the

the mariners; they endeavoured to lend a helping hand; but activity, without skill, served only to embarrass such as knew their duty. The winds at last were collected to one point, and the storm blew directly from the south.

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In that climate the south wind is generally more tempestuous than in other seas. Sweeping over the bleak German mountains, it drives from the land a vast body of clouds, that form a scene of impending horror, which the vicinity of the northern regions renders still more formidable. The ships were dispersed: some were thrown upon unknown islands, surrounded with rocks, or upon banks of sand that lay concealed beneath the waves. At the turn of the tide, the wind and the current, with united force, drove one way. To lie at anchor was impossible. The billows broke over the ships with such violence, that all the pumps at work could not discharge the water. To lighten the vessels was the only expedient left: and accordingly horses, beasts of burthen, arms, and baggage, were thrown overboard.

XXIV. THE storms in other seas are inconsiderable, when compared to the fury of a northern tempest. The ocean in those parts is more boisterous than in any other of the known world, and the rigour of Germany surpasses that of any other climate. The danger of the fleet was, by consequence, more alarming; the magnitude, as well as the novelty of the mischief, exceeding any former voyage undertaken by the Romans. No friendly shore at hand; every coast in the possession of savage enemies (*a*); the sea of a depth incredible; vast in circumference, and, according to the received opinion, without any nation towards the north, or any continent to fix its boundary. A number of ships went to the bottom; many were wrecked on distant islands, secluded from the commerce of man. The soldiers who were

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cast on shore, perished by famine, or prolonged a wretched existence by feeding on the carcases of horses thrown up by the sea.

The vessel in which Germanicus failed, was driven far from the fleet, to the coast (*b*) inhabited by the Chaucians. There the disconsolate prince passed whole days and nights among pointed rocks, wandering on the prominent beach, his eyes fixed on the brawling deep, and his heart imputing to himself the whole calamity. It was with difficulty that his friends restrained him from burying himself in the same waves that swallowed up so many gallant soldiers. At length the storm abated. The wind and the tide serving at once, some of the ships were seen making to the land, all in a shattered condition, few oars remaining, and the clothes of the men stretched out for sails. The crippled vessels were drawn in tow by such as were less disabled. Germanicus refitted the fleet with all possible expedition; and, as soon as might be, ordered some of the ships to coast along the islands, in search of the soldiers who had been cast away. By this diligence many were restored to their friends. The Angrivarians, lately reduced to subjection, returned a considerable number, whom they had ransomed from their maritime neighbours. Some were thrown on the coast of Britain, and there released by the petty princes of the country. According to the distance from which the men returned, the account of their perils was swelled with marvellous adventures; they talked of hurricanes, and birds unheard of before; of sea-monsters, and ambiguous forms, partly man, and partly fish; things either seen, or else the coinage of imaginations crazed with fear.

XXV. THE news of these disasters spreading far and wide, the Germans began to think of renewing the war. Nor was Germanicus

manicus less active to counteract their designs. He dispatched Caius Silius with thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, to make war on the Cattians; and in the mean time marched himself, at the head of a greater force, to invade the Marfians. Malovendus, the chief of that nation, had lately surrendered to the protection of Rome. From him intelligence was gained, that the eagle of one of the legions commanded by Varus, lay in a trench, covered with earth, in a neighbouring grove (*a*), and the guard stationed there could make but a feeble resistance. Two parties were sent forward without delay; one to attack the enemy in front, and draw them from their post; the other to enter the wood in the rear, and recover the eagle. Success attended both expeditions. Germanicus now resolved to penetrate into the heart of the country; he carried destruction wherever he marched, the enemy in every quarter flying before him, or if any where they made a stand, either routed or put to the sword. According to the account brought in by the prisoners, a more general panic was never known. All agreed that the Romans rose superior to adversity; a race of men not to be subdued. Their fleet destroyed, their arms lost in the deep, the coast of Germany covered with the dead bodies of men and horses; and yet, said the astonished Germans, they return undismayed, and with their former ferocity renew the charge, as if calamity increased their numbers.

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XXVI. THE Romans marched into winter quarters, proud of their exploits, and in their late success losing the memory of past misfortunes. The prince, with that munificence that graced his character, paid to each foldier the amount of his loss. Meanwhile the Germans, weakened and disheartened by the ill success of so many efforts, began to think of pacific measures: nor was it doubted

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doubted but another summer, if they dared to take the field, would complete and end the war. But Tiberius wished for nothing so much as the return of Germanicus. His letters were all to that effect. “It was time,” he said, “to visit the capital, and enjoy the honours of a triumph already decreed. Enough had been performed. The prosperous events of war were balanced by misfortunes. Important battles had been fought, and victory had often attended the Roman arms: but the winds and waves conspired; and losses at sea, not indeed imputable to the general, were heavy disasters. Tiberius added, that he himself, under the auspices of Augustus, had been sent nine times into Germany; but it was to prudent counsels, more than to force of arms, that he owed all his success. It was by policy that the Sicambrians (*a*) were wrought to a submission; it was by management that the Suevians were drawn into an alliance with Rome; and it was the same conduct that made Maroboduus (*b*) listen to terms of peace. The honour of the Roman name was now revived in all its ancient lustre; and it was therefore time to leave the Cherusicans, and the hostile states of Germany, to their own dissensions.”

Germanicus, notwithstanding these remonstrances, requested leave to continue in the command for one year more. Tiberius was not to be diverted from his purpose. He plied Germanicus with new arguments; and, as a lure to young ambition, threw out the offer of a second consulship, which required personal attendance at Rome. He urged, moreover, that if the war continued, some share of merit ought to be left to Drusus, the brother of Germanicus, for whom no other field of glory could be found. It was in Germany only that Drusus could acquire the title of IMPERATOR. Rome had no other enemies. The laurel crown must be gained in that quarter of the world. Germanicus

saw through these pretences. The object, he knew, was to stop him in the full career of fame: with regret he resigned the command, and returned to Rome.

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XXVII. ABOUT this time, Libo Drusus, descended from the Scribonian family, was accused of a conspiracy against the state. The history of this transaction in all its stages, its rise, its progress, and its final issue, shall be here laid open. The detail will not be uninteresting; since we are now arrived at that black period, which engendered that race of men, who, for a series of years, were the scourge and pest of society. Libo owed his ruin to his intimacy with Firmius Catus, a member of the senate. Catus saw in his friend, besides the impetuosity of youth, a cast of mind susceptible of vain illusions and superstitious credulity. He saw that the judicial astrology of the Chaldæans, the mysteries of the Magi, and the interpreters of dreams, would be sure to make their impression on a wild and distempered imagination. In such a mind the flame of ambition might be easily kindled. With that intent, he urged the dignity of Libo's ancestors: Pompey was his great grandfather; Scribonia (*a*), once the wife of Augustus, was his aunt; the two young Cæsars (*b*) were his relations; and his house was crowded with images, that displayed an illustrious line of ancestors. Having thus inflamed his pride, he contrived to engage the young man in a course of luxury, and, by consequence, to involve him (*c*) in a load of debt. He watched him closely in the hour of wild profusion, and in the scenes of distress that followed; affecting with tender regard to be his constant companion, yet lying in wait for evidence; and playing the part of a friend, to be at last a pernicious enemy.

XXVIII. HAVING procured a competent number of witnesses, and among them such of the slaves as knew their master's course of

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of life, Catus demanded an audience of the emperor. By the means of Flaccus Vespularius (*a*), a Roman knight, much in the confidence of Tiberius, he had beforehand disclosed the nature of his business. The emperor refused to grant an interview, and yet encouraged the informer, willing through the same channel to receive further intelligence. Libo in the mean time was raised to the dignity of prætor. He was a frequent guest at the imperial table. In those convivial moments, Tiberius never betrayed a symptom of suspicion. With gentle expressions, and looks of kindness, that master of dissimulation knew how to hide the malice of his heart. The follies of Libo's conduct might have been checked in the beginning; but Tiberius chose to collect materials for a future day. It happened at last that one Junius, who pretended to raise the dead by magic incantations, was appointed, at the request of Libo, to exhibit the wonders of his art. This man hastened with the secret to Fulcinius Trio, at that time a noted informer, who possessed dangerous talents, and by any arts, however pernicious, wished to raise himself into public notice. Libo was cited to appear. Trio applied to the consuls for a solemn hearing before the senate. The fathers were convened to deliberate, as the summons informed them, on matters of moment, and a charge of the blackest nature.

XXIX. LIBO changed his dress (*a*). In a mourning garb he went from house to house, attended by a female train of the first distinction. He importuned his friends, and among them hoped to find some one willing to undertake his defence. His application was without effect. His friends deserted him, with different excuses; but all from the common motive of fear. On the day of trial, sinking under his distress, and faint with real or pretended illness, he was carried in a litter to the senate-house. He entered the court (*b*), supported by his brother. At the sight of the emperor,

emperor, he stretched forth his hands in the manner of a suppliant, and in a pathetic tone endeavoured to conciliate favour. Tiberius viewed him with a rigid and inflexible countenance. He then proceeded to open the charge, stating the particulars, and the names of the accusers; but in a style of moderation, neither aggravating nor extenuating the offence.

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XXX. FONTEIUS AGRIPPA and Caius Vibius, two new accusers, joined in support of the prosecution. Being now four in number, they could not agree among themselves which should take the lead. The point was contested with much warmth. Vibius at length observed, that Libo came to the trial without an advocate to support him; and therefore, to end the dispute with his associates, he undertook to detail in a plain and simple manner the heads of the charge. Nothing could be more wild and extravagant than some of the articles. He stated that Libo had made it a question to the fortune-tellers, whether he should ever be rich enough to cover with money the Appian road, as far as Brundisium. There were other allegations of the same stamp, equally void of common sense; or, to speak more truly, so weak and frivolous, that they could move no passion but pity.

There was however one fact of a serious nature. A paper was produced, containing a list of the Cæsars, and also several senators, with remarks, or notes, which no man could decypher, annexed to their names. This was exhibited as the hand-writing of Libo. He insisted on his innocence. It was proposed to put his slaves to the torture. Their evidence, by the established rules of law, was inadmissible. By an ancient decree of the senate, it was ordained, that, where the master's life was in danger, no slave should undergo the question. Tiberius, by a master-stroke of invention (*a*), found an expedient to evade the

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law. He directed a sale of the slaves to be made to the public officer, that, the property being altered, they might then be examined on a new principle, unknown to former times. Libo prayed an adjournment to the next day. Being returned to his own house, he sent by his relation, Publius Quirinius, an humble petition to the emperor: the answer was, "he must address the senate."

XXXI. A PARTY of soldiers surrounded Libo's house, and, with the brutal rudeness of men insolent in authority, forced their way into the vestibule, determined to make themselves heard and seen by the family. The prisoner was then at table, intending to make an elegant banquet the last pleasure of his life: but a mind in agony could relish nothing. Distracted, terrified, he called on his servants to dispatch him; he laid hold of his slaves, and endeavoured to force a sword into their hands. The servants, in agitation, made an effort to escape, and, in the struggle, overturned the light that stood upon the table. This to Libo was funereal darkness: he seized the moment, and gave himself two mortal stabs (*a*). His groans alarmed the freedmen, who crowded round their master. The soldiers followed; and seeing him at the point of death, had the decency to withdraw. The prosecution, however, did not die with the unfortunate victim. It was resumed in the senate with unabating severity. Tiberius made an end of the business, by declaring that, if the criminal had not done justice on himself, he intended, notwithstanding the manifest proof of his guilt, to have recommended him to the mercy of the fathers.

XXXII. THE estate of the deceased was divided among the informers. Such of them as were of senatorian rank, were promoted to the prætorship, without the form of an election. Various

rious motions were made in the senate: Cotta Messalinus (*a*) proposed that the image of Libo should not be carried in the funeral processions of his kindred; Cneius Lentulus, that the surname of Drusus should be no longer assumed by the Scribonian family. On the motion of Pomponius Flaccus, days of public thanksgiving were voted; and gifts were ordered to be presented to Jupiter, Mars, and Concord, at the desire of Lucius Puppianus, Asinius Gallus, Papius Mutilus, and Lucius Apronius. It was further decreed, that the ides of September, the day on which Libo dispatched himself, should be observed as a festival. Of these resolutions, and their several authors, I have thought proper to record the memory, that adulation may be branded to all posterity, and that men may mark how long a fervile spirit has been the canker of the commonwealth.

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The tribe of astrologers and magicians (*b*), by a decree of the senate, was banished out of Italy. Two of the number suffered death; namely Lucius Pituanus, and Publius Marcius. The former was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock; and the latter, by order of the consuls, was executed, at the sound of a trumpet, on the outside of the Esquiline gate (*c*), according to the form prescribed by ancient usage.

XXXIII. AT the next meeting of the senate, the luxury of the times became the subject of debate. The business was introduced by Quintus Haterius, of consular rank, and Octavius Fronto, who had discharged the office of prætor. A law was passed, prohibiting the use of solid gold for the service of the table; and further enacting, that men should not (*a*) disgrace themselves by the effeminate delicacy of silk apparel. Fronto took a wider compass. He proposed that the quantity of silver in every family, the expence of furniture, and the number of

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domestics, should be limited by law. The senators at that time did not confine themselves to the question depending before the assembly; but every speaker was at liberty to start new matter, and submit to consideration whatever he thought conducive to the public good.

Asinius Gallus rose in opposition to the opinion of Octavius Fronto. "The commonwealth," he said, "had increased in grandeur, and the wealth of individuals grew with the growth of empire. Nor was this a modern innovation: the same effect, from the same causes, may be traced in the early period of the commonwealth. The Fabricii had their private wealth, and so had the Scipios, but different in degree. Wealth is relative, always in proportion to the affluence of the times. When the state was poor, frugality was the virtue of a citizen. Does the empire flourish? Individuals flourish with it. In matters of domestic expence, such as plate and retinue, the measure of œconomy or extravagance must be determined by the circumstances of the family. Nothing is mean, nothing superfluous, but what is made so by the condition of the parties. The fortune of a senator (*b*), as settled by law, differs from the qualification of a Roman knight. Has nature made a distinction between them? No, it is civil policy that draws the line; and surely it is fit that they, who stand high in rank, in honours, and public station, should live in suitable splendor, not only furnished with the necessaries, but also with the elegancies, of life. High station is at best a post of danger. Will any one argue, that men in office are to drudge in business, condemned to endless toil, without the means of repairing the waste of labour, and without a comfort to sooth anxiety?" The apologist of dissipation and luxury carried his point. With an audience of congenial manners, public vices, decorated with specious names,

names, were public virtues. Tiberius closed the debate. The times, he said, were not ripe for a censor (*c*); but if corruption went on increasing, there would be no want of vigour to reform abuses of every kind.

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XXXIV. IN the course of these debates, Lucius Piso broke out with vehemence against the reigning vices of the times, the spirit of intrigue that prevailed in the forum, the venality of the courts of justice, and the band of public informers, who were ever armed with accusations, and spread terror through all ranks and degrees of men. For his part, he abjured the city of Rome. In some remote corner of the world, he was determined to seek an obscure but safe retreat from the villany of abandoned men. He spoke, and left the senate-house. Tiberius heard him, but not without inward mortification. He endeavoured by every means in his power to appease his indignation; and exerted all his interest with Piso's relations, in order to dissuade him from his purpose. In a short time after, the same eminent person gave another proof of his firmness. He had commenced a suit against Urgulania, a woman raised above the controul of law by the friendship of Livia. Disdaining to answer the process, this haughty favourite took shelter in the imperial palace. Piso persisted in his demand, undismayed by the resentment of Livia, who considered his obstinacy as an affront to herself. Tiberius thought fit to temporize with the passions of his mother. He promised to attend the hearing of the cause, in favour of Urgulania; and that mark of filial compliance he thought would not be considered as a stretch of power (*a*).

He set out accordingly from the palace, his guards following at a distance. He proceeded slowly through the streets, amidst a concourse of people, with an air of calm composure, occasionally

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sionally loitering in conversation. Piso's friends tried all in their power to make him desist from his suit; but nothing could shake that resolute temper. To end the controversy, Livia thought good to pay the whole of his demand. Piso by his firmness did honour to his character, and Tiberius gained the popular applause. Urgulania continued, notwithstanding, to tower above the condition of a citizen; inasmuch that, being summoned as a witness in a matter depending before the senate, her pride would not suffer her to appear. A prætor was sent to take her examination in private; though, by ancient usage, the attendance of the vestal virgins, whenever cited to give their testimony, was never dispensed with, either in the forum or the tribunals of justice.

XXXV. PART of this year was remarkable for a total suspension of all public business. Of this inactive state it would be scarce worth while to take notice, if the different sentiments of (*a*) Cneius Piso and Asinius Gallus did not seem to merit attention. Tiberius gave notice, that he intended to absent himself for some time from Rome. Piso declared his opinion, that, in such a juncture, the senate ought to attend with greater assiduity to the dispatch of business. The fathers and the Roman knights might still discharge their respective functions; "the dignity of the
"commonwealth required it." Asinius Gallus saw, with a jealous eye, that his rival had taken the popular side; and, to counteract his design, rose to oppose the motion. "Nothing," he said, "could be truly great, or worthy of the Roman people, unless
"conducted under the eye of the prince. The affairs of state,
"and the great conflux of people, not only from all parts of Italy
"but from the provinces, ought to be reserved for the presence of
"the emperor." Tiberius heard all that passed, but remained silent. A warm debate ensued. At length the fathers agreed to adjourn all business till the prince returned to Rome.

XXXVI. UPON another occasion the same Asinius Gallus had the spirit to clash even with the emperor. He moved, in form, that the election of civil magistrates should take place at the end of five years; that the officers who had the command of a legion, and discharged that duty before they attained the prætorship, should be declared prætors elect, without prejudice to the right of the sovereign to name twelve candidates. This motion, beyond all doubt, had a deeper aim, pointing directly at the policy of the times, and the secret maxims of the court (*a*). Tiberius affected to see a design to enlarge the sovereign authority; and, on that ground, replied, “that it was inconsistent with his moderation to “take upon him so vast a charge. The power to choose, was a “power to exclude; and the last was painful. The elections, “even when annual, were attended with many inconveniencies. “The disappointed candidate was sure to repine at his want of “success, and yet his disgrace was but of short duration: he con- “soled himself with hopes of better success in the following year. “Defer the election for five years, and the man rejected for that “length of time will find his spirit more deeply wounded. “Moreover, at the end of so long a period, who can answer that “his character, his family connections, and his fortune, will be “the same? To grow proud in office is the nature of man: ex- “tend his authority to the space of five years, and what will be “the consequence? Every single magistrate will swell with the “pride of five. The laws, which have wisely drawn the “line, will be subverted; whereas, at present, the time for “soliciting, as well as that of enjoying public honours, is fixed “with precision.”

XXXVII. By these specious arguments, delivered with a republican spirit, Tiberius strengthened the interests of despotism. His next measure was a grant of money to certain senators, whose fortunes

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fortunes were inferior to their rank. Nothing, however, in the midst of such liberal donations, struck the minds of men with so much wonder, as the high tone with which he rejected the application of Marcus Hortalus, a young man of distinction, but embarrassed in his circumstances. He was grandson to (a) Hortensius, the celebrated orator. To prevent the extinction of that illustrious family, Augustus pressed him to marry, and seconded his advice by a present of a thousand great sesterces. The senate was sitting in the emperor's palace. Hortalus attended. Having stationed his four children before the door, he rose in his place, directing his eyes, first to the statue of Hortensius, among the famous orators, then to the statue of Augustus, and spoke to the following effect: "My children, conscript fathers, are now before you: you see their number, and their helpless infancy. They were not mine by choice: the command of Augustus made me a father. Let me add, the merit of my ancestors stood in so distinguished a light, that the line ought not to fail for want of issue. As to myself, the distraction of the times left me nothing but difficulties: involved in distress, destitute, without popular favour, and, above all, not endowed with eloquence, that peculiar gift and fortune of my family, I could have passed my days in humble content, resolved that poverty should neither make me a disgrace to my ancestors, nor a burthen to my friends. The advice of Augustus was a command: I obeyed, and married. Behold the issue of that alliance, the posterity of consuls and dictators. It is not the language of vain glory that I utter; it is the voice of a father pleading for his children. Receive them, Cæsar, to your protection: under your auspicious smiles they may live to deserve your favour, and to merit public honours. In the mean time, let their tender years claim compassion: they are the grandchildren of Hortensius, and they were fostered by Augustus."

XXXVIII. This speech made an impression in his favour: but the inclination of the senate was sufficient to form a temper like that of Tiberius. He replied to Hortalus nearly in the following words: "If the trade of begging is to be encouraged; if the poor are to come hither in crowds to solicit for their children; the public funds may be exhausted, and the craving of individuals will remain unsatisfied. To depart from the question before the senate, and open new matter for the public service, was no doubt the practice of our ancestors; but, under that sanction, to introduce domestic concerns, with a view to private interest, is an abuse of the privilege, tending directly to reduce the senate, as well as the sovereign, to a painful dilemma. Whether we comply, or refuse our consent, either way we encounter prejudice. Besides, this mode of petitioning is not a modest humble request; it is a demand, brought on by surprise, while other business is before us. At such a time the petitioner comes, and with the age and number of his children assails the passions of this assembly: he does more; he makes a sudden transition to himself, and by violence of prayer hopes to storm the treasury. But let us remember that, if by our profusion we exhaust the public stock, our crimes must replace it. You are not, Hortalus, now to learn, that the bounty of Augustus was his own voluntary act: he gave you money, but never intended that you should live a rent-charge upon the public. By false compassion we injure the community; industry will go to ruin; sloth will predominate, men will no longer depend upon themselves; but, having from their own conduct nothing to hope or fear, they will look to their neighbours for support: they will first abandon their duty, and then be a burden then on the public."

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Such were the reasonings of Tiberius. His speech was well

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received by that class of men, who are ever ready to applaud the vices, no less than the virtues, of their master: others heard in silence, or at most with a murmur of disapprobation. Tiberius saw the impression on the minds of the fathers: he paused, and added, that what he had said was a reply to Hortalus; but, if the senate judged it proper, he was willing to give two hundred great sestercies to each of his sons. The fathers expressed their thanks; Hortalus made no answer, perhaps through fear, or probably retaining still the spirit of his ancestors, unbroken by distress. From this time Tiberius never relented. While the house of Hortensius sunk into distress and poverty, he looked on with unconcern, and saw that illustrious family moulder into ruin.

XXXIX. IN the course of this year, the daring genius of a single slave well nigh involved the empire in a civil war. The name of this man was Clemens, formerly retained in the service of Posthumus Agrippa. He was no sooner apprised of the death of Augustus, than he conceived the bold design of passing over to the side of Planasia, with intent, by force or stratagem, to carry off Agrippa, and convey him to the German army. This enterprise, conceived by a slave, was no indication of a groveling mind. He embarked on board a trading vessel, deeply laden, and after a tedious passage arrived too late: Agrippa was previously murdered. The man was now resolved to act a nobler part. Taking with him the ashes of the prince, he sailed to Cosa, a promontory of Etruria, and there remained concealed in the sequestered parts of the country, till his hair and beard were grown into length. He was of his master's age, and in form and stature not unlike him. He began by his friends and agents to circulate a whisper, that Agrippa was still living. The story, as is usual in the beginning of plots, was helped about by clandestine arts. By degrees the tools of this bold adventurer grew more hardy; the weak and

ignorant believed every thing ; and the bold and turbulent, who wish for nothing so much as convulsions in the state, received the news with joy and exultation. While the report was gaining ground, the author of it withdrew with caution from the public eye. Truth, he was aware, is always brought to light by time and reflection ; while the lye of the day lives by bustle, noise, and precipitation. The impostor was therefore resolved to keep the minds of men in a constant ferment : he visited the municipal towns, but always in the dusk of the evening ; he went to one place, he flew to another, continually in motion, never long any where ; but, as soon as he made his impression, leaving his fame behind him, or flying before it, to prepossess the people in some new quarter.

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XL. THE miraculous escape of Agrippa was currently reported all over Italy. At Rome the story was believed. The impostor landed at Ostia, amidst the acclamations of the rabble. Clandestine meetings were held in the capital. Tiberius was thrown into the utmost perplexity. Should he call forth the soldiers to subdue a slave ? Were it not more adviseable to leave the rumour to its own futility ? On a sudden he was bent on vigorous measures, and nothing was to be flighted : he wavered, fluctuated, and to act with coolness seemed more adviseable ; to be alarmed at trifles was unworthy of the prince. The resolution of one moment gave way to the whim of the next, and pride and fear alternately distracted him. He resolved, and decided nothing. Weary of himself, he left the whole to Sallustius Crispus. That minister sent two of his creatures (some say, two soldiers) to join the fictitious Agrippa, as men devoted to his cause : he gave them full instructions to supply him with money, and profess themselves ready in his service, to encounter every danger. The men acted their parts ; and, in the dead of night, seizing their opportunity,

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fell with a strong party upon the adventurer. Having seized his person, they dragged him in fetters, with a gag in his mouth, to the imperial palace. Being there interrogated by Tiberius “how he came to be Agrippa,” he is said to have answered, “as you came to be Cæsar.” With undaunted resolution he refused to discover his accomplices. Tiberius, not choosing to hazard a public execution, ordered him to be put to death in a sequestered part of the palace. The body was privately conveyed away; and though at the time there was reason to believe that many of the emperor’s household, and even several of the Roman knights and senators, assisted the impostor with their advice and money, the affair was dropt without further enquiry.

XLI. TOWARDS the end of the year, a triumphal arch was erected, near the Temple of Saturn (*a*), in memory of the Varian eagles retaken under the conduct of Germanicus, and the auspices of Tiberius. Several other public monuments were dedicated at the same time; a temple to Fortune, in the gardens on the banks of the Tiber, which Julius Cæsar had bequeathed to the Roman people; a chapel sacred to the Julian family; and a statue of Augustus in the suburbs, called *Bovillæ* (*b*).

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In the consulship of Caius Cæcilius and Lucius Pomponius, Germanicus, on the seventh before the calends of June, enjoyed the glory of a triumph over the Cherusicans, the Cattians, the Angrivarians, and the rest of the nations extending as far as the Elbe. The spoils of the conquered, the prisoners of war, with various pictures of battles, mountains, and rivers, were displayed with great pomp and splendor. The war, though the general was not suffered to reap the full harvest of his glory, was considered by the populace as entirely finished. Amidst the grandeur of this magnificent spectacle, nothing appeared so striking as the graceful

person of Germanicus, with his five children (*c*), mounted on the triumphal car. The joy of the multitude was not, however, without a tincture of melancholy. Men remembered that Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was the darling of the people, and yet proved unfortunate; they called to mind young Marcellus (*d*), blessed with all his country's wishes, yet prematurely snatched away. It happened, they said, by some fatality, that whenever a favoured character was the delight of the Roman people, their affections ended always in a general mourning.

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XLII. TIBERIUS gave a largess to the populace of three hundred sesterces (*a*) to each man, and ordered the distribution to be made in the name of Germanicus, at the same time declaring himself his colleague in the consulship for the ensuing year. These marks of good will were specious, but by no man thought sincere. He was now resolved to remove the favourite of the people. This, however, was to be done under colour of new honours. He framed a pretence, or took advantage of that which the posture of affairs presented to him. Archelaus (*b*), during a space of fifty years, had swayed the sceptre of Cappadocia; but had the misfortune of being upon bad terms with the emperor, who, during his residence in the Isle of Rhodes, had taken umbrage at the king's behaviour, and from that moment harboured the deepest resentment. Archelaus, it is true, had shewn him no mark of respect; but that inattention did not originate in pride or arrogance. It was the conduct recommended by the confidential friends of Augustus, at a time, when Caius Cæsar, flourishing in favour, was sent to arrange the affairs of the east. In that juncture, to court the friendship of Tiberius would have been highly impolitic.

After the failure of the Cæsarian line, and the elevation of Tiberius, letters to the eastern prince were dispatched from the emperor's

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emperor's mother, avowing her son's resentment, but offering an entire remission of past offences, provided he came in person to solicit his pardon. Archelaus did not perceive the intended treachery; or, perceiving it, thought it prudent to dissemble. He risked a journey to Rome.

Tiberius received him with pride and sullen aversion. The king of Cappadocia was arraigned before the senate (*c*); and though the charge was without foundation, a royal mind, not used to acknowledge an equal, much less to bend to the humiliating condition of a state-criminal, was naturally pierced to the quick. Worn out with grief, and drooping under the infirmities of age, the unhappy monarch died of a broken heart, or perhaps fell by his own hand. His kingdom was reduced to a Roman province. With this new source of wealth, Tiberius declared himself able to diminish the tax of the hundredth penny, and accordingly changed it to the two hundredth. About this time died Antiochus and Philopater; the former king of Commagena (*d*), and the latter of Cilicia. By their deaths their kingdoms were thrown into violent convulsions. Two factions were at variance: one, which formed a large majority, was willing to submit to the government of Rome; the other contended for the independence of their monarchy. In the same juncture the provinces of Syria and Judæa prayed to be relieved from the burthen of oppressive taxes.

XLIII. THIS state of affairs, and the commotions in Armenia, which have been already mentioned, Tiberius laid before the senate. His conclusion was, that to settle the troubles of the east, recourse must be had to the wisdom of Germanicus. As to himself, he was now in the vale of years, and Drusus had neither maturity of age nor experience. The provinces beyond
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the Mediterranean (*a*) were, by a decree of the senate, committed to Germanicus. He was made commander in chief, with supreme authority, wherever he went, over all other governors, whether appointed by lot, or the will of the prince. At that time Creticus Silanus was the governor of Syria. He had promised his daughter in marriage to Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus. For that reason Tiberius recalled him from the province, and in his place appointed Cneius Piso (*b*), a man of violent passions, impatient of controul, and fierce with all the spirit of his father, that famous republican, who in the civil wars took up arms against Julius Cæsar, and rekindled the flame in Africa. After that exploit he followed the fortunes of Brutus and Cassius. Being at length restored to his country, he disdained all public offices, till Augustus prevailed upon him to accept of the consulship. To the pride derived from such a father, the son united the insolence of wealth acquired by his marriage with Plancina (*c*), who, besides her high descent, possessed immoderate riches. Proud of that connection, Piso thought himself scarcely second to Tiberius. The emperor's sons were beneath his rank. The government of Syria, he made no doubt, was given to him, as a bar to the hopes of Germanicus. For this purpose secret instructions were at the time said to have been given to him by Tiberius. Plancina, it is certain, had her lesson from Livia, with full instructions to mortify the pride of Agrippina with all the arts of female emulation.

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The court of Tiberius, divided between Drusus and Germanicus, was a scene of domestic faction. The emperor, as was natural, gave the preference to his own immediate issue; but the preference had no other effect than that of attaching the friends of Germanicus more warmly to his interest. They considered him, by the maternal line, of higher birth than Drusus (*d*);
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Marc Anthony was his grandfather, and Augustus Cæsar his great uncle. On the other hand, Pomponius Atticus (*e*), the great grandfather of Drusus, having never risen above the rank of a Roman knight, seemed to tarnish the lustre of the Claudian line. The merit of Agrippina weighed greatly in the scale. She had brought to Germanicus a numerous offspring; and her character, free from blemish, placed her in a point of view superior to the younger Livia (*f*), the wife of Drusus. The two brothers, amidst the heat of contending parties, lived in perfect harmony: their friends were at variance, but the princes loved each other.

XLIV. DRUSUS was soon after sent to command the army in Illyricum. In that school of military science he might improve in the art of war, and gain the affections of the army. The camp, Tiberius thought, would wean a young man from the dissolute manners of the capital. He had still another motive: while his two sons were at the head of the legions, he might live in security, free from danger, and every possible alarm. But the ostensible reason for the expedition of Drusus, was an application from the Suevians (*a*), praying the assistance of Rome against the Cherusicans, who had turned their disappointed rage against their countrymen. The fact was, Germany being at that time evacuated by the Romans, the different nations of that country, no longer dreading a foreign invasion, began, according to the genius of Barbarians, to quarrel among themselves. The present difference was a struggle for power between two rival states. The strength on each side was nearly equal; the abilities of the chiefs much upon a balance: but the name of King was detested by the Suevians, and, by consequence, Maroboduus was unpopular. On the opposite side, Arminius, the champion of liberty, was the idol of his country.

XLV. ARMI-

XLV. ARMINIUS took the field at the head of a considerable army. The Cheruscans, and a large body of allies, accustomed to fight under him, followed his standard. To these were added the Semnones and the Langobards (*a*), two Suevian nations revolted from Maroboduus. By this defection the superiority had been decidedly with Arminius, had not Inguiomer thrown his whole weight into the opposite scale. For this conduct the pride of the man was the exciting motive. Arminius was the son of Inguiomer's brother; and the uncle, now a veteran foldier, disdained to serve under his nephew, and obey the orders of a boy. The two armies were drawn up in order of battle; on both sides equal ardour, and equal hopes of victory. The Germans no longer carried on a desultory war, in detached parties, and irregular bodies: their long conflict with the Romans had made them foldiers. Discipline was introduced; they followed the colours; they supported the broken ranks, and with prompt alacrity obeyed the word of command. Arminius appeared on horseback, rushing through the ranks, and animating his men to deeds of valour. He congratulated them on the recovery of their liberty; he gloried in the slaughter of Varus and his legions; he pointed to the spoils of victory, and the Roman weapons then in the hands of numbers; he called Maroboduus a coward and a fugitive, who never fleshed his sword in battle, but fled for shelter to the Hercynian forest (*b*), where, by negociation, by bribes and embassies, he patched up an ignominious peace. A traitor to his country, and the slave of Cæsar, he was more an object of vengeance than Varus and his legions. He conjured them to remember the battles they had fought, and the glorious issue of all their labours. "The Romans," he said, "have abandoned Germany; they are exterminated; and if men desire to know who were the conquerors, the event of the war will tell."

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XLVI. MAROBODUUS, in the mean time, was not inactive. Of himself he talked in magnificent terms, and of the enemy with contempt and indignation. Holding Inguiomer by the hand, "Behold," he said, "in this brave warrior the support
 "and glory of the Cheruscan name! To him they are indebted
 "for the success of their arms. Arminius had no share in the
 "conduct of the war; a rash presumptuous man, without know-
 "ledge or experience; he tears the laurel from another's brow,
 "and founds his merit on fraud and murder: he fell by sur-
 "prise upon three legions, and put an unsuspecting general,
 "with his whole army, to the sword. All Germany has had
 "reason to rue the carnage of that day; nor has Arminius any
 "thing to boast. His wife and his son are languishing in
 "Roman chains. Has my conduct produced so dreadful a ca-
 "tastrophe? Tiberius, at the head of twelve legions (*a*), ad-
 "vanced against me; but the glory of the German name
 "suffered no diminution. The peace which followed was made
 "on equal terms. For that treaty I have no reason to blush.
 "Hostilities were suspended, and you gained time to deliberate
 "which was most advisable, war with Rome, or a safe and
 "honourable peace."

The two armies were in this manner animated by their respective chiefs. The several nations added their own private motives. The Cheruscans took the field to maintain their ancient glory, and the Langobards to defend their liberty recently recovered. The Suevians aimed at an extension of territory. No battle was ever fought with more inflamed resentment, and none with such equivocal success. The right wing on both sides was put to flight. A decisive action was expected; when Maroboduus drew off his forces, and encamped on the neighbouring hills; acknowledging, by his retreat, the superior strength
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of the enemy. Desertion in a little time thinned his army. He retired into the country of the Marcomanians (*b*), and thence sent a deputation to Tiberius, in hopes of obtaining succours. The emperor's answer was, that Maroboduus, in the late war with the Cheruscans, had given the Romans no assistance; there was therefore no pretence for the present application. Drusus, notwithstanding, was dispatched, in the manner already mentioned, to secure the frontiers from the incursions of the enemy, and to maintain the tranquillity of the empire.

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XLVII. IN the course of this year twelve principal cities in Asia were destroyed by an earthquake. The calamity happened in the night, and was for that reason the more disastrous; no warning given, and by consequence no time to escape. The open fields, in such dreadful convulsions, are the usual refuge; but the earth opening in various places, all who attempted to fly were buried in the yawning caverns. Hills are said to have sunk, and valleys rose to mountains. Quick flashes of lightning shewed all the horrors of the scene. The city of Sardes (*a*) suffered most, and was relieved in proportion to the distress of the inhabitants. Besides a remission for five years of all taxes, whether due to the public treasury, or the coffers of the prince, Tiberius promised a supply of one hundred thousand great sesterces. The city of Magnesia, situated near mount Sipylus, suffered in the next degree, and was considered accordingly. The inhabitants of Temnos, Philadelphia, Egæa, and Apollonia, with the cities of Hierocæsarea, Myrina, Cymè, Tmolus, as also the Mesthenians, and the people called the Macedonians of Hyrcania, were, for the like term of five years, exempted from all manner of imposts. The senate resolved to send a person of their own order to make an estimate of the mischief, and grant suitable relief. The affairs of Asia were at that time admi-

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nistered by a man of consular dignity. To avoid the jealousy incident to officers of equal rank, Marcus Aletus, who had risen no higher than the office of prætor, was the person commissioned to superintend the business.

XLVIII. BESIDES these acts of public munificence, Tiberius shewed, in matters of a private nature, a spirit of liberality that did him the highest honour. The estate of Æmilia Musa (*a*), who was possessed of a large fortune, and died intestate, leaving no lawful heir, was claimed to the prince's use by the officers of the imperial exchequer. Tiberius renounced his right in favour of Æmilius Lepidus, who seemed to stand in some degree of relation to the deceased. He gave up, in like manner, the rich possessions of Patuleius, a Roman knight; and, though a considerable legacy was left to himself, he resigned the whole to Marcus Servilius, upon the ground of a former will, duly attested, in which Servilius was constituted sole heir. For this disinterested conduct the reason assigned was, that the dignity of two such illustrious citizens deserved to be supported. In general, it was a rule with Tiberius, in all cases where he had no previous title from connection or friendship, not to accept any property as testamentary heir. When humour, caprice, or passion induced a stranger to disinherit his kindred, and make a disposition in favour of the prince, he declared it an inofficious testament. To honest and virtuous poverty he often shewed himself a friend: to prodigality he was an inflexible enemy. In the class of spendthrifts he considered Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sylla, and Quintus Vitellius. These men, undone by their own extravagance, were either expelled the senate, or allowed to vacate their seats.

XLIX. THE plan undertaken by Augustus for the building of
temples

temples in the room of such as had been injured by time, or damaged by fire, was now completed. Tiberius dedicated the various structures to their respective deities; one near the Great Circus to Bacchus, Proserpine, and Ceres, originally raised in consequence of a vow made by Aulus Posthumius the dictator (*a*); a temple to Flora, near the same place, formerly dedicated by Lucius and Marcus Publicius, during their ædileship; another to Janus, in the herb-market, founded by Caius Duillius (*b*), the first who by a naval victory added lustre to the Roman name, and triumphed over the Carthaginians. The temple of Hope, vowed by Atilius in the same Punic war, was dedicated by Germanicus.

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L. MEANWHILE, the law of violated majesty went on with increasing fury. A prosecution founded on that cruel device was set on foot against Apuleia Varilia (*a*), descended from a sister of Augustus, and grand niece to that emperor. She was charged with speaking defamatory words to the dishonour of Augustus, and uttering sharp invectives against Tiberius and his mother. Adultery was another head of accusation: though related to the Cæsarian family, she had, by her licentious conduct, brought disgrace on that illustrious name. The last article was thrown out of the case, as a matter within the provisions of the Julian law (*b*). With regard to her calumnious language, Tiberius desired that a distinction might be made. If it appeared in proof that she had spoken irreverently of Augustus, the law, he said, should take its course; but personalities levelled at himself might pass with impunity. A question was put by the consul touching the liberties taken with the emperor's mother. Tiberius made no reply. At the next meeting of the senate he informed the fathers that words affecting Livia, were, by her own desire, never to be imputed as a crime. Varilia was acquitted.

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quitted on the law of majesty. With regard to the charge of adultery, Tiberius requested the fathers to soften the rigour of their sentence. In conformity to ancient practice, he was of opinion, that the relations of the offender might remove her to the distance of two hundred miles from Rome. This mode of punishment was adopted. Manlius, her paramour, was banished from Italy and Africa.

LI. THE office of prætor becoming vacant by the death of Vipfanius Gallus, the appointment of a fucceffor gave occafion to a warm and eager conteft. Haterius Agrippa, nearly related to Germanicus, was declared a candidate. Drufus and Germanicus, both ftill at Rome, efpoufed his intereft. It was, however, a fettled rule, that the perfon who had the greateft number of children (*a*) fhould be deemed to have the fuperior title. From this line of decifion many of the fathers were unwilling to depart. Tiberius faw with inward fatisfaction the fenate wavering between the law and the wifhes of his fons. The law, as may be imagined, proved too feeble. The two princes carried the queftion, though not without a ftrong contention, and by a fmall majority. This, however, was no more than what often happened in better times, when laws were ftill in force, but had to ftuggle with power, and were often obliged to yield to fuperior intereft.

LII. By the fpirit of a bold and daring adventurer, a war was this year kindled up in Africa. This man, a Numidian by birth, and known by the name of Tacfarinas, had ferved in the Roman camp among the auxiliary troops. He deferted afterwards, and collected together a body of freebooters, accuftomed to live by rapine, and by confequence addicted to a life of warfare. Tacfarinas had acquired fome rudiments of military difcipline. He
formed

formed his rash levied numbers into companies of foot, and squadrons of horse. Having drawn over to his party the Mufulanians (*a*), a nation bordering on the wilds of Africa, where they led a roving life, without towns, or fixed habitations, he was no longer the chief of a band of robbers, but, with a higher title, the general of a people. The neighbouring Moors (*b*), a race of savages, under the command of Mazippa, joined the confederacy. The two chiefs agreed to divide their troops into two separate bodies. Tacfarinas, with the flower of the army, formed a regular camp, arming his men after the Roman manner, and training them to the art of war; while Mazippa, at the head of his light-armed freebooters, ravaged the country, and marked his way with fire and sword. The Cinithians (*c*), a nation by no means contemptible, were forced to enter into the league.

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At length, Furius Camillus, proconsul of Africa, advanced to check the insurgents, at the head of a legion, and such of the allies as still remained under his command. With this handful of men, a slender force when compared to the numbers of the Moors and Numidians, the Roman general determined to hazard a decisive action. His chief care was, not to strike the enemy with terror. Their fears, he knew, would make them avoid an action, and protract the war. The Barbarians hoped to gain an easy victory, and by their hopes were led on to their destruction. Camillus drew up in order of battle. His legion formed the centre: in the wings were stationed the light cohorts, and two squadrons of horse. Nor did Tacfarinas decline the conflict. He engaged, and was totally routed. By this victory the name of Camillus, after an interval of many years, seemed to retrieve its ancient honours. From him, who was the deliverer of Rome (*d*), and his son, who emulated the father's example, all military fame was transplanted to other families, till
Camillus,

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Camillus, the conqueror of Tacfarinas, once more revived the glory of his ancestors; but he did it without their talents. He had seen no service, nor was he considered as an officer. Tiberius for that reason was the more lavish in his praise. Triumphal ornaments were decreed to him by the senate; nor was he afterwards ruined by his merit. His moderation, and the simplicity of his manners, screened him from envy. He enjoyed his honours with impunity.

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LIII. TIBERIUS and Germanicus were joint consuls for the following year; the former for the third time, and the latter for the second. Germanicus, in this juncture, was absent from Rome, at the city of Nicopolis in Achaia. He had passed into Dalmatia, on a visit to his brother Drusus. From that place he sailed along the coast of Illyricum; and after a tempestuous voyage in the Adriatic and the Ionian seas, arrived at Nicopolis, where he was invested with his new dignity. His fleet had suffered, and took some days to refit for sea. In the mean time he seized the opportunity to view the Bay of Actium, rendered famous by the great naval victory at that place. He saw the trophies (*a*) consecrated by Augustus, and the lines of Mark Anthony's camp. To him, who was grand nephew to Augustus, and grandson to Mark Anthony, the scene was interesting. Every object reminded him of his ancestors; and every circumstance awakened those tender sensations, in which the heart unites regret and pleasure. From Nicopolis he proceeded to Athens. In that city, the seat of valour and of literature, and for many years in alliance with Rome, he shewed his respect for the inhabitants by appearing without pomp, attended only by a single lictor. The Greeks exhausted their invention to do him honour: ingenious in the arts of flattery, they took care to blend with their compliments frequent mention of the renowned exploits and

memorable sayings of their ancestors; and thus, by enhancing their own merit, they thought they gave refinement, and even value, to adulation.

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LIV. FROM Athens Germanicus sailed to the island of Eubœa, and thence to Lesbos, where Agrippina was delivered of a daughter, called Julia (*a*), the last of her children. From Lesbos he pursued his voyage along the coast of Asia; and, after visiting Perinthus and Byzantium, two cities of Thrace, sailed through the straits of the Propontic, into the Euxine Sea, led by curiosity to visit all places renowned in story. In his progress he attended every where to the complaints of the inhabitants, whom he found distracted by their own intestine divisions, or labouring under the tyranny of the magistrates. He redressed grievances, and established good order, wherever he went.

On his return from the Euxine, he intended to visit Samothracia (*b*), famous for its rites and mysteries; but the wind springing up from the north, he was obliged to bear away from the coast. He viewed the ruins of Troy, and the remains of antiquity in that part of the world, renowned for so many turns of fortune, the theatre of illustrious actions, and the origin of the Roman people. He landed next at Colophon, to consult the oracle of the Clarian Apollo (*c*). The responses at this place were not delivered, like those at Delphos, by a Pythian maid: a priest officiates, chosen by custom out of certain privileged families, and generally a citizen of Miletus. From such as apply to him, he requires nothing but their number and their names. Content with these particulars, he descends into a cavern; and, after drinking from a secret spring, though untaught with learning, and a stranger to poetry, he breaks out in a strain of enthusiastic verse, on the subject of every man's hopes and fears. He is said to

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have foretold the approaching fate of Germanicus, but in the oracular style, dark and ænigmatical.

LV. PISO, in the mean time, impatient to execute his evil purposes, made his entry into Athens, and with the tumult of a rude and disorderly train alarmed the city. In a public speech he thought fit to declaim against the inhabitants, obliquely glancing at Germanicus, who, he said, by ill-judged condescensions, had impaired the dignity of the Roman name. The civility of the prince, he said, was shewn, not to the men of Athens (a race long since extirpated), but to a vile heterogeneous mass, the scum of various nations, at one time in league with Mithridates against Sylla, and afterwards with Mark Anthony against Augustus. He went back to the times of Philip of Macedon; condemning, in terms of reproach, not only their feeble exertions in their struggle with that monarch, but also the ingratitude of a giddy populace to their best and ablest citizens. To this behaviour Piso was instigated by a private pique against the Athenians. It happened that one Theophilus was condemned for forgery by the judgment of the Areopagus (*a*): Piso endeavoured to gain a pardon for this man, but that upright judicature was inflexible.

After this prelude to the scenes which he was still to act, Piso embarked, and, after a quick passage through the Cyclades, arrived at Rhodes. While he lay at the mouth of the harbour, a storm arose, and drove the vessel on the point of a rock. Germanicus was then at Rhodes. He knew the hostilities that had been already commenced against himself, and might have left a man of that dangerous character to the mercy of the winds and waves; but, acting with his usual benevolence, he sent off boats and galleys to save even an enemy from destruction. Gratitude was not in the character of Piso. He spent but a single day with his

his benefactor; and, to take his measures beforehand, proceeded on his way to Syria. Having reached that place, he began by bribery, by intrigue, and cabal, to draw to himself the affections of the legions. He caressed the lowest of the soldiers: he dismissed the centurions of approved experience, and removed all the tribunes, who supported military discipline; substituting in their room his own dependants, and, still worse, the vile and profligate, who had nothing but their crimes to recommend them. Sloth prevailed in the camp; licentiousness diffused itself through the cities; and over the face of the country nothing was seen but a dissipated and disorderly band of soldiers. By these practices Piso rose into popularity, inasmuch that he was hailed the *Father of the Legions*.

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His wife Plancina forgot the decencies of the female character. She attended the troops in the field; she reviewed the cavalry; she railed with spleen and malice against Agrippina, and did not even spare Germanicus. This behaviour, it was generally believed, had the approbation and countenance of Tiberius. The consequence was, that not only the weak and profligate were alienated from Germanicus, but even the men of sober conduct, who were inclined to remain in their duty, went in a short time to pay their homage to the favourites of the emperor.

LVI. GERMANICUS was fully apprised of these proceedings; but Armenia claimed his first attention. He hastened without loss of time to regulate the affairs of that kingdom; a kingdom where caprice and levity marked the national character, and the situation of the country encouraged the inconstancy of the people. Armenia borders a great length of way upon the Roman provinces; then stretches, to a vast extent, as far as the territory of the Medes. Hemmed in by two great empires, that of Parthia (*a*)

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and of Rome, the Armenians are never steady to either; but, with their natural levity, alternately at variance with each; with the Romans, from rooted aversion; with the Parthians, from motives of ambition, and national jealousy. In the present juncture, the throne was vacant. Vonones being expelled, the wishes of the people were fixed on Zeno, the son of Polemon, king of Pontus. The young prince had shewn, from his earliest youth, a decided inclination to Armenian manners. The sports of the chase were his favourite amusement; he delighted in carousing festivals, and all the pastimes of savage life. For these qualities he was high in esteem, not only with the populace, but also the grandees of the nation. In this disposition of men's minds, Germanicus entered the city of Artaxata, and, amidst the acclamations of the people, placed the diadem on the head of Zeno. The Armenians paid homage to their new master, in the ardour of their zeal proclaiming him king, by the name of Artaxias (*b*), in allusion to the place of his coronation. About the same time, the Cappadocians, who had been reduced to the form of a province (*c*), received Quintus Veranius as their governor. The first measure of his administration was, to remit part of the taxes heretofore paid to their kings; that, from so mild a beginning, the people might conceive a favourable idea of Roman moderation. The Comagenians, in like manner, submitted to the government of a prætor, and Quintus Servæus was appointed to the office.

LVII. IN this manner tranquillity was established in the east. The events were important, and such as might have given Germanicus reason to congratulate himself; but his joy was poisoned by the repeated hostilities and the insolence of Piso. This man had orders to march with a detachment of the legions into Armenia, or, at his option, to give the command to his son. He complied in neither instance. The prince met him at Cyrrum, the

the winter quarters of the tenth legion. At that place they came to an interview, both with countenances adjusted to the occasion; Piso with an air of intrepidity, still disdaining a superior; and Germanicus with the serenity of a man, who wished to stifle his resentment. The gentle qualities of his nature inclined him at all times to moderation; but his friends, with the usual talent of men, who love to make bad worse, inflamed the quarrel. They aggravated what was true; they gave colour to falsehood; and omitted nothing to the disadvantage of Piso, Plancina, and their sons.

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In the presence of a few select friends, Germanicus came to an explanation: his language was in that measured style, which anger and prudence, combating each other, usually inspire. Piso made an arrogant apology. The meeting broke up, and both retired with smothered resentment. From this time Piso rarely attended the tribunals of justice: whenever he appeared in court, his countenance plainly discovered ill will, and sullen discontent. At a banquet given by the Nabathean king, a sudden expression fell from him, and betrayed his real temper. Golden crowns were presented to the company: two, for Germanicus and Agrippina, were of a ponderous size; while those for Piso and the rest were of inferior value. Piqued at the distinction, Piso exclaimed, "This feast is made for the son of a Roman prince, not of a Parthian king." In the instant he threw the present made to himself, with peevish contempt, on the ground, declaiming with bitterness against the growth of luxury. Germanicus heard his rude invective, but still remained master of himself.

LVIII. ABOUT this time arrived ambassadors from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, with instructions to mention, in terms of respect, the ancient alliance between Rome and Parthia, and the desire

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desire of the monarch to renew their former friendship. As an earnest of respect for Germanicus, Artabanus was willing to advance to an interview as far as the Euphrates ; but he made it a condition, that Vonones should be removed from Syria, where his residence, in the neighbourhood of Parthia, gave him an opportunity to carry on secret negotiations with the nobles of the realm, and in time to stir up a revolt. Germanicus answered with condescension, yet with dignity. Of the alliance between Rome and Parthia he spoke with due regard, and the royal visit he considered as an honour to himself. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis on the coast of Cilicia, not so much to comply with the demands of the Parthian king, as to curb the insolence of Piso, then linked in ties of friendship with the exiled prince, who had contrived, by marks of respect and magnificent presents, to purchase the favour of Plancina.

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LIX. IN the consulship of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus, Germanicus made a progress into Ægypt, to view the monuments of antiquity so much celebrated in that country. For this journey the good of the province was his pretext. In fact, by opening the public granaries, he reduced the price of corn ; and, by pursuing popular measures, he gained the goodwill of the inhabitants. He appeared in public without a guard ; his feet uncovered, after the Greek fashion ; and the rest of his apparel was also Greek. In these particulars he took for his model the conduct of Publius Scipio (*a*), who, we are told, did the same in Sicily, while Rome was still convulsed by the distractions of the Punic war. Tiberius, as soon as he received advices from Ægypt, condemned this affectation (*b*) of foreign manners, but without asperity. Another point appeared to him of greater moment. Among the rules established by Augustus, it was a maxim of state-policy (*c*), that Ægypt should be considered as forbidden ground,

ground, which neither the senators, nor the Roman knights, should presume to tread, without the express permission of the prince. This was, no doubt, a wise precaution. It was seen that, whoever made himself master of Alexandria, with the strong holds, which by sea and land were the keys of the whole province, might, with a small force, make head against the power of Rome, and, by blocking up that plentiful corn country, reduce all Italy to a famine. Germanicus, without authority, had entered Alexandria; and this, to the jealous temper of Tiberius, was little short of a state crime.

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LX. MEANWHILE Germanicus, little suspecting that he had incurred the emperor's displeasure, determined to sail up the Nile. He set out from Canopus, a city built by the Spartans in memory of a pilot of that name, who was buried on the spot, at the time when Menelaus, on his return from Troy, was driven by adverse winds on the coast of Libya. From Canopus, the next place of note was a mouth of the river dedicated to Hercules, who was born, as the inhabitants contend, in that country. He was, according to them, the first of the heroic line; and his name, being made another term for virtue, was by the voice of succeeding ages bestowed on all who emulated the example of the Ægyptian worthy (*a*). Germanicus proceeded to the magnificent ruins of the city of Thebes (*b*), where still was to be seen, on ancient obelisks, a pompous description, in Ægyptian characters, of the wealth and grandeur of the place. From the account of an elderly priest, who was desired to interpret the (*c*) hieroglyphics of his country, it appeared that Thebes, at one time, contained within her walls no less than seven hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms; that the whole army was called forth into the field by Rhamfes (*d*), one of the kings of Ægypt; and, under the auspices of that monarch, overran all Libya, Æthiopia, and in their progress subdued the Medes and Persians, the Bactrians

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and the Scythians, with the extensive regions inhabited by the Syrians, the Armenians, and their neighbours the Cappadocians. By this conquest, a tract of country, extending from Bithynia on the Pontic Sea to the coast of Lycia in the Mediterranean, was reduced to subjection. The inscription further stated the tribute paid by the conquered nations; the specific weight of gold and silver; the quantity of arms, the number of horses, the offerings of ivory and of rich perfumes presented to the temples of Ægypt; the measure of grain, and the various supplies administered by every nation; making altogether a prodigious revenue, no way inferior to the taxes of late years collected either by Parthian despotism, or the authority of Rome (*e*).

LXI. IN a country abounding with wonders, the curiosity of Germanicus was not easily satisfied. He saw the celebrated statue of Memnon (*a*), which, though wrought in stone, when played upon by the rays of the sun, returns a vocal sound. He visited the pyramids, those stupendous structures raised by the emulation of kings, at an incredible expence, amidst a waste of sands almost impassable. He saw the prodigious basin (*b*), formed by the labour of man, to receive the overflowings of the Nile; and in other parts of the river, where the channel is narrowed, he observed a depth of water so profound (*c*), that the curiosity of travellers has never been able to explore the bottom. The prince proceeded as far as Elephantinè and Scyenè (*d*), the boundaries formerly of the Roman empire, though now extended as far as the Red Sea.

LXII. WHILE Germanicus passed the summer in visiting the provinces of Ægypt, Drusus, by his able conduct in Pannonia, acquired no small degree of reputation. He had the address to make the Germans turn their hostilities against themselves. The power.

power of Maroboduus was in its wane; and his countrymen were, by consequence, encouraged to complete the ruin of that unfortunate prince. Catualda, a young man of rank, who was formerly compelled by the injustice of Maroboduus to fly his country, had taken refuge among the Gothones (*a*). The season of revenge was at length arrived. At the head of a strong force he entered the territory of the Marcomanians. Having seduced the leading nobles to his party, he stormed the royal palace (*b*), and took by assault a strong castle nearly adjoining, where the Suevians had been accustomed to deposit their plunder. A considerable booty fell into his hands. He found, besides, a number of victuallers and traders from the Roman provinces; men who had been attracted to that part of the world by the liberty allowed to commerce, and by the love of lucre were induced to remain, till, by the force of habit, they lost all remembrance of their native land.

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LXIII. MAROBODUUS, finding himself deserted by his people, had no resource but in the friendship of Tiberius. He crossed the Danube, where that river washes the confines of Noricum; and thence sent his dispatches to Rome, not in the humble style of a prince driven from his throne, but, even in ruin, with an elevation of mind worthy of his former grandeur. The substance of his letters was, that the nations who knew his fame in arms had made him offers of friendship, but he chose rather to rely on the protection of the Romans. Tiberius promised him a safe retreat in Italy; with liberty, if his affairs took a favourable turn, to withdraw whenever his interest should invite him. To the fathers he talked a different language: Philip of Macedon (*a*), he said, was not so much to be dreaded by the Athenians, nor Pyrrhus or Antiochus by the Roman people. His speech on this occasion is still extant; we there find him magnifying the

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fortitude of the German chief, and the ferocity of the nations over which he reigned with absolute power. He sets forth the danger of a powerful enemy so near the Roman frontier, and applauds himself for the wisdom of the measures that brought on the ruin of a great and warlike prince. Maroboduus was received at Ravenna; and there held up to the Suevians, if they dared to commence hostilities, as a prince that might once more ascend the throne. In the space, however, of eighteen years, Maroboduus never once stirred out of Italy. He grew grey in indolence; and clinging too long to a wretched life, survived his reputation.

Catualda experienced a like reverse of fortune, and found no better refuge. The Hermundurians, led on by Vibillius their chief, expelled him from the throne. The Romans fixed his residence at Foro-Julium, a colony in Narbon Gaul. The Barbarians, who followed the fortunes of the two exiled kings, were not suffered to incorporate with the people of the provinces; but, to prevent the danger that might otherwise shake the public tranquillity, were conducted beyond the Danube, where they had allotments of land between the rivers Marus and Cusus, under the command of Vannius, a man born in the Quadian nation, and by Tiberius made king of the colony.

LXIV. THE elevation of Artaxias to the throne of Armenia being about this time known at Rome, the senate decreed the lesser triumph to Drusus and Germanicus. Triumphal arches were raised near the Temple of Mars the Avenger, and the statues of the two princes were placed in a conspicuous point of view. Tiberius rejoiced at these events; and the more so, as they were the effect of policy, not of conquest. By the same insidious arts he now began to plan the destruction of Rhescuporis, king of Thrace. Rhæmetalces at one time reigned sole monarch over
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that whole country. After his death Augustus made a partition of the kingdom, assigning to Rhescuporis, the late king's brother, one moiety; and the other to Cotys (*a*), son of the deceased monarch. In this division of the kingdom, the cultivated parts of the country, the fertile vales, and flourishing cities that lay contiguous to Greece, fell to the share of Cotys; the wilds and barren places, which were open to hostile incursions, were allotted to Rhescuporis. The genius of the two kings resembled their soil: the milder virtues distinguished the character of Cotys; ferocity, ambition, rapine, and impatience of an equal, were the prominent features of Rhescuporis. The princes preserved at first a show of mutual concord; in time Rhescuporis began to encroach on his nephew, not indeed with open violence, as he knew that Augustus, the founder of both kingdoms, might likewise prove the avenger of wrongs. During that emperor's life, he concealed his designs; but he no sooner heard that Rome had changed masters, than he threw off the mask, and avowed his ambition. With a band of freebooters he ravaged the country, razed to the ground the strong holds and castles, and by every act of hostility provoked a war.

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LXV. To keep things, which were once settled, in the same unaltered state, was the principal care that occupied the anxious spirit of Tiberius. He dispatched a centurion to restrain the Thracian kings from an open rupture. Cotys disbanded his forces. Rhescuporis resolved to act with craft and subtlety. He proposed a conference which, he had no doubt, would terminate all their differences. The time and place were fixed: a negotiation was opened, both princes seeming willing to remove all difficulties. Cotys brought to the meeting a conciliating spirit; the uncle meditated a stroke of perfidy. To ratify the preliminaries, he proposed a banquet. The parties met, and

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protracted their festivity to a late hour of the night. Amidst the joys of wine, and in the moment of revelry, Rhescuporis attacked his nephew, unsuspecting and unprovided. The deluded prince urged in vain the rights of kings, the laws of hospitality, and the gods of their forefathers. He was loaded with irons. His treacherous uncle made himself master of all Thrace; and immediately sent dispatches to inform Tiberius that a dangerous conspiracy against his life had been defeated by timely vigilance. In the mean time, under colour of an enterprise against the Basternians and the Scythians, he made levies of horse and foot, determined, at all events, to be prepared for a defensive war.

LXVI. TIBERIUS returned for answer, that his conduct, if found to be free from reproach, would be his best protection; but neither the senate nor the emperor could prejudge the cause: the guilt or innocence of men must arise out of the facts. He added, that Rhescuporis would do well to release his nephew, and make the best of his way to Rome, in order to fix the criminality where it ought to fall. A letter to this effect from the emperor was forwarded to the Thracian king by Latinus Pandus, proprætor of Mysia. A band of soldiers went, at the same time, to demand that Cotys should be delivered into their custody. Rhescuporis, divided between hope and fear, fluctuated for some time: he chose, at length, rather to answer for an actual crime, than for the bare intention. He murdered Cotys, and spread a report that he died by his own hand. Tiberius heard the news without emotion, determined still to pursue his plan of fraud and treachery. Latinus Pandus died in the interval. Rhescuporis had always represented him as his inveterate enemy; but the government of Mysia being now vacant, Tiberius gave the administration of the province to Pomponius Flaccus (*a*), a man of military experience, and upon the best terms

terms with Rhescuporis. A friend, he knew, might prove in the end the most fatal enemy. That consideration determined his choice.

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LXVII. FLACCUS, without loss of time, arrived in Thrace. He found Rhescuporis in a state of violent agitation, conscious of his guilt, and overwhelmed with doubt and fear. He soothed him with gracious words, and by plausible promises inveigled him to hazard his person within the lines of a Roman garrison. Pretending there to do honour to the prince, he appointed a guard to attend him. The tribunes and centurions enticed him to go forward under their protection; till, having drawn him a considerable way, they avowed their purpose, and Rhescuporis found that he was a prisoner in close custody. He was conducted to Rome, where the widow of Cotys accused him before the senate. His guilt was manifest: the senate decreed that he should pass the remainder of his days at a distance from his dominions. The kingdom of Thrace was once more divided. Rhæmetalces, son of the deposed king, and always adverse to his father's measures, had a portion of the realm; the rest was granted to the sons of Cotys, then under age. During their minority, Trebellienus Rufus, of prætorian rank, undertook the government of the kingdom in trust for the heirs of Cotys, according to the precedent of former times, when the senate sent Marcus Lepidus (*a*) to administer the affairs of Ægypt in the capacity of regent and guardian to the children of Ptolemy. Rhescuporis was conveyed to Alexandria; and there attempting to make his escape, or perhaps unjustly charged with that design, he was seized and put to death.

LXVIII. ABOUT the same time Vonones, who, as has been mentioned, was detained in Cilicia, made a like attempt, but
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with no better success. Having corrupted the guards, he intended to push his way into Armenia, and thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, flattering himself that he should be able to penetrate into Scythia, and there obtain protection from the reigning king, who was his near relation. With this intent he went on a hunting party; and, having watched his opportunity, betook himself to flight. Turning off from the sea-coast, he struck into the woods, and rode at full speed towards the river Pyramus. The inhabitants, on the first alarm, demolished the bridges. The river was not fordable. Vonones was found wandering along the banks, and by order of Vibius Fronto, the commander of the cavalry, loaded with fetters. He did not long survive. Remmius, a resumed veteran, had been entrusted with the custody of his person. This man, in a sudden transport of pretended passion, drew his sword, and ran the unhappy prince through the body. The secret cause of this violent act cannot now be ascertained (*a*): the general opinion was, that the soldier had been bribed to favour the king's escape, and, rather than be detected as an accomplice, chose to be an assassin.

LXIX. GERMANICUS, on his return from Ægypt, found all his regulations, in the civil as well as the military line, totally abolished, or changed to a system directly contrary to his intentions. Hence a new source of dissension. He condemned the conduct of Piso; and in return met with nothing but contumacy, and a spirit of opposition to all his measures. Piso was at length determined to evacuate Syria: hearing, however, that Germanicus was attacked by a sudden illness, he changed his resolution. He had soon after the mortification of learning that the disorder was abated. At Antioch the news diffused a general joy. The people of that place had offered vows for the recovery of the prince; and, having obtained the object of their wishes,

wishes, began by solemn rites to discharge the obligations which they had imposed upon themselves. Enraged at this proceeding, Piso interrupted the ceremonies; by his lictors he drove the victims from the altars; he spread terror and confusion through the temples, and dispersed the congregation. After this exploit he withdrew to Seleucia. At that place, having advice that Germanicus was relapsed, he resolved to make some stay, in expectation of the event. The prince suspected that poison had been secretly conveyed by Piso, and that idea added to the malignity of his disorder.

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A discovery was made of a singular nature. Under the floor, and in the cavities of the walls (*a*), a collection of human bones was found, with charms, and magic verses, and incantations. The name of Germanicus was graved on plates of lead; fragments of human bodies, not quite consumed to ashes, were discovered in a putrid condition; with a variety of those magic spells, which, according to the vulgar opinion, are of potency to devote the souls of the living to the infernal gods. Amidst the confusion occasioned by these extraordinary circumstances, messengers were sent by Piso to enquire after the health of Germanicus; but those men were considered as spies, who came to watch for intelligence.

LXX. GERMANICUS was informed of all that passed. Fear and indignation took possession of him by turns. "If my doors," he said, "are to be besieged by my enemies; if interlopers are to see me at the point of expiration, what is the prospect that my wife has before her? and what are my children to expect? The poison is too slow in its operation for the wishes of my enemies; they want to hasten its effect; and the impatience of Piso has already swallowed up the province, with the
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“ command of the legions. But Germanicus is not yet deserted
 “ by all : his enemies may still have reason to repent ; and the
 “ murderer will find that he has not long to enjoy the wages of
 “ his guilt.” In this temper of mind he wrote a letter to Piso,
 in express terms disclaiming all friendship and connection with
 him : as some will have it, he commanded him to depart from
 the province. Piso, in fact, did not linger at Seleucia : he em-
 barked immediately, but slackened his course ; still willing to
 hover near the coast, in hopes that the death of Germanicus
 would leave the province open to his ambition.

LXXI. THE disorder intermitting for a short time, Germa-
 nicus had an interval of hope. But the fatal moment was
 approaching : he sunk into a mortal languor ; and, finding him-
 self near his end, took leave of his friends in words to the fol-
 lowing effect : “ Were I to die a natural death, yet, thus cut
 “ off in the bloom of life from my family, my children, and my
 “ country, I might think it hard, and call the gods severe in
 “ their dispensations. . Falling, as I now do, a victim to the
 “ iniquity of Piso and his wife Plancina, I leave with you, my
 “ friends, the request of a dying man. You know the indig-
 “ nities that provoked me beyond all enduring ; you know the
 “ snares that have been laid for me, and you see the anguish of
 “ heart that brings me prematurely to my grave : relate the
 “ whole to my father and my brother (*a*). The friends, whom
 “ prosperity connected with me ; my relations, more closely
 “ united by the ties of blood, will hear the story with indig-
 “ nation : even envy, that never fails to persecute the living,
 “ will drop a tear over my remains. All will lament the fate
 “ of an unhappy prince, whom they saw flourishing in the
 “ smiles of fortune, a conqueror in so many battles, yet at last
 “ snatched away by the artifices of female malice (*b*). It will
 “ be

“ be yours to appeal to the senate; yours to invoke the ven-
 “ geance of the laws; and yours to shew your friendship, not
 “ by unavailing tears, but by executing my last commands.
 “ In that consists the noblest duty, the best tribute to the memory
 “ of the dead. Even strangers who never saw me will be
 “ touched with sympathy; and you, my friends, if I was ever
 “ dear to you, if you followed my person and not my fortune,
 “ you will revenge my fall. Shew to the Roman people my
 “ afflicted wife, the grand-daughter of Augustus; shew my
 “ children, my six unhappy orphans. Compassion will be on
 “ the side of the prosecutors; and should my enemies attempt
 “ to screen themselves by pleading secret orders, mankind will
 “ either not believe them, or believing, will not forgive them.”
 The friends of the dying prince clasped his hand, and bound
 themselves by a solemn oath to revenge his death, or perish in
 the attempt.

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LXXII. GERMANICUS turned to his wife, and fixing his
 eyes upon her, earnestly conjured her by the memory of her
 husband, and by their mutual children, to abate from the pride
 and fierceness of her disposition. To bend to the stroke of adver-
 sity, and at her return to Rome not to provoke by vain compe-
 tition the resentment of enemies too high in power, was all that
 now was left.—Thus far with an audible voice: he then whis-
 pered a secret caution, which was supposed to point at the ma-
 lignity of Tiberius. In a short time after he breathed his last.
 The provinces lamented their loss; he was honoured by kings,
 and regretted by the neighbouring nations; such was his equal
 behaviour to the allies of Rome, and such the humanity that
 endeared him even to the enemy. Graceful in his person, he
 charmed by his affability; beloved, when heard; admired, when

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only seen ; and, in the highest elevation, great without arrogance (*a*), he maintained the dignity of his rank, yet never gave envy reason to repine at his success.

LXXIII. THE funeral was plain and simple, without pomp or pageantry. No images (*a*) were carried in the procession. Fond remembrance, and the praises due to virtue, were the best decorations. Between him and Alexander men formed a parallel : his time of life, the graces of his person, the manner of his death, and the small distance between the places where both expired, gave room for the comparison. Both, it was observed, were of a comely form ; both of illustrious birth ; neither of them much exceeding the thirtieth year of his age ; and both died in a foreign land, cut off by domestic treachery. But Germanicus had qualities peculiar to himself : he was mild and gracious to his friends, in his pleasures temperate, an affectionate husband, and by one wife the father of a numerous issue. Nor was his military character any way inferior : he had the bravery of Alexander, without his rashness ; and, if he had not been recalled from Germany, where he gained so many signal victories, the entire conquest of that country had crowned his operations with immortal glory. The power of the state was never in his hands. Had he possessed the sole authority, with the royal title, and the prerogative of a prince, the progress of his arms would have made him equal to the conqueror of Darius ; while, on the side of virtue, his clemency, his moderation, his temperance, and other amiable qualities, gave him a decided superiority. The body lay in state in the forum at Antioch, where the funeral ceremony was performed. Whether any symptoms of poison were discovered (*b*), is uncertain. The people were divided into opposite parties, and their opinions varied accordingly. Some lamented the deceased prince,

prince, and, in minds so prepossessed, suspicion amounted to proof; others warped into the interests of Piso; and all pronounced according to the bias of their inclinations.

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LXXIV. IN this juncture, who was the fit person to govern the province, became the subject of debate. A council for this purpose was held by the commanders of the legions, and all of senatorian rank, then on the spot. A number of candidates appeared. After a short struggle, the contest lay between Vibius Marfus and Cneius Sentius. The question hung for some time in suspense. Marfus at length withdrew his pretensions; willing to yield to a senior officer, who shewed himself ambitious of the honour. The first step of the new governor was to send to Rome a woman of the name of Martina, well known throughout the province for her practices in the trade of poisoning, and also for her intimacy with Plancina. This measure was adopted at the request of Vitellius (*a*), Veranius, and a number of others, who were then actually busy in collecting evidence, and preparing the charge with as much assiduity, as if the prosecution had been already commenced in due form of law.

LXXV. MEANWHILE Agrippina, pierced to the heart, and her health impaired by affliction, resolved, notwithstanding, to surmount every obstacle that might retard the hand of justice. She embarked for Italy with the ashes of Germanicus, and her orphan children. All eyes beheld her with compassion; all were grieved that a woman of the highest distinction, so lately happy with the best of men, and in the splendour of a court seen with universal homage, should undertake a melancholy voyage, with the urn of him she loved, not sure of a just revenge, alarmed for herself, and by the fruitfulness of her marriage

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riage bed exposed to calamities yet unknown. Piso was at the
 isle of Coos. He there received advice that Germanicus was no
 more. Transported with joy beyond all bounds, he hastened
 to the temples, and offered victims as a public thanksgiving.
 Plancina was still more extravagant: she laid aside her mourning
 for a deceased sister, to celebrate in her gayest apparel an event
 so grateful to her heart.

LXXVI. THE centurions flocked in crowds to Piso, assuring
 him that the legions were devoted to his service, and for that
 reason exhorting him to resume a command unjustly taken from
 him. Piso called a council of his friends: his son, Marcus Piso,
 was for his returning to Rome without delay. “What had
 “been done, might well be justified: suspicions, unsupported by
 “proof, would soon evaporate; and vague reports were of no
 “moment. The long contention with Germanicus might per-
 “haps be censured: it was unpopular, but could not amount to
 “a crime. Piso had lost his government, and by that circum-
 “stance the rage of his enemies would be appeased. To return
 “to Syria, were to enter into a civil war with Sentius. The
 “centurions and soldiers were not to be trusted. The memory
 “of Germanicus was still recent; and that affection for the
 “Cæsar family, which had taken root in the minds of all,
 “would operate throughout the army.”

LXXVII. DOMITIUS CELER, the intimate friend of Piso,
 was of a contrary opinion. “The opportunity,” he said, “should
 “be seized without delay. Piso, and not Sentius, was the legal
 “governor of Syria: the prætorian jurisdiction, the ensigns of
 “magistracy, and the command of the legions, were committed
 “to his care. If the sword must be drawn, who had so much
 “right on his side as the person, who received his commission
 “from

“ from the emperor? Public rumour should not be too soon
 “ encountered. Give the report of the day time to grow stale,
 “ and it dies of itself. In the first heat of prejudice, innocence
 “ itself has often fallen a victim to popular clamour. If Piso,
 “ at the head of an army, stood at bay with his enemies, new
 “ emergencies, which no wisdom could foresee, might unex-
 “ pectedly assist his cause. Why should he hasten to the ca-
 “ pital? Was it his interest to enter Rome with Agrippina
 “ bearing the urn of Germanicus? Did he mean, unheard and
 “ undefended, to try the effect of female lamentation, or to be
 “ hurried to execution by the fury of a licentious rabble? Livia,
 “ it is true, is of your party, and Tiberius will favour you; but
 “ both will act in secret: and, in fact, none will grieve for
 “ Germanicus with so much ostentation of sorrow, as they who,
 “ in their hearts, rejoice at the event.”

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LXXVIII. THE turbulent genius of Piso was easily satisfied with this reasoning. He dispatched letters to Tiberius, charging Germanicus with pride and luxury; and farther complaining, that, with views of ambition, he had driven out of Syria the lawful governor, duly appointed by the emperor. That governor, he added, would now resume the command; and, by a faithful discharge of so important a trust, demonstrate his zeal for the public service. Thus determined, he ordered Domitius to sail for Syria; keeping as much as possible in the open sea, without touching at any of the islands, or approaching too near to the main land. Meanwhile, deserters crowded in from all quarters. Piso formed them into companies; he armed the lowest followers of the army, and with this hasty levy embarked for the continent. He had not long been landed, when a body of recruits, marching to the legions in Syria, fell in his way. He drew them over to his party, and by circular letters

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letters demanded succours from the petty kings of Cilicia. The younger Piso, though he had objected to the measure, was not inactive in his father's service.

LXXIX. PISO's fleet, and that which conveyed Agrippina, met near the coast of Lycia and Pamphilia. They beheld each other with animosity. Both parties were eager to come to action; but they passed each other, content with throwing out reproaches and opprobrious language. Vibius Marfus summoned Piso "to appear at Rome, and stand his trial." Piso answered with derision, "that he would be sure to attend, when the prætor, vested with jurisdiction in matters of poison, had cited the parties, and appointed a day." Meanwhile Domitius, who had landed at Laodicea, in the province of Syria, advanced towards the winter-quarters of the sixth legion; expecting, in that corps, to find the minds of the men ripe for mutiny and desertion. By the vigilance of Pacuvius, who commanded in those parts, the attempt was frustrated. Sentius, by letters to Piso, complained of these proceedings; at the same time warning him neither to corrupt the army, nor disturb the peace of the province. His next care was to draught from the legions all such soldiers as were known to be attached to Germanicus, or adverse to his enemies. He represented the attempts of Piso as an invasion of the imperial dignity, and a war against the commonwealth. Having excited the ardour of his men, he marched into Cilicia, prepared to decide the dispute by force of arms.

LXXX. PISO found himself pressed on every side, and yet was determined not to abandon his enterprise. He seized a strong hold in Cilicia, called the castle of Celendris. With a body of deserters, incorporated with the recruits lately intercepted, and the

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the auxiliaries sent by the kings of Cilicia, he threw himself into the place, resolved to hold out to the last. To his forces he added his own slaves, and those of Plancina, forming altogether a number equal to a legion. To excite their courage, he complained aloud that he, the governor appointed by Tiberius, was driven out of the province, not by the legions (for they invited him to return) but by Sentius, who, with the specious colour of public motives, varnished over his own private animosity. He told his troops, that they had only to shew themselves in force, and the affair would be decided. The soldiers of the adverse party, at the sight of Piso, whom they hailed the father of the legions, would lay down their arms, and submit to the man who not only had justice on his side, but, if necessary, courage and resolution to maintain his rights. Having thus exhorted his people, he drew them out before the walls of the castle, on the summit of a craggy hill. The place was every where else surrounded by the sea. The veterans, under Sentius, advanced in regular order. A body of reserve followed to support them. On one side were seen skill and bravery: on the other, nothing but the advantage of the ground; no courage to incite; no hope to animate; and no warlike weapons, but only such rustic tools as the men were able to snatch up in the first tumult of a dangerous enterprise. An engagement followed; but the victory was no longer in suspense, than while the Romans were employed in forcing their way up the ascent of the hill. The steep being surmounted, the Cilicians fled for shelter to their fortifications.

LXXXI. THE fleet under the command of Sentius lay at anchor under the walls of Celendris. Piso made a sally, with intent to seize the ships. Being repulsed, he shewed himself before the works of the castle; he complained of cruel injustice, and tried by the force of pathetic language to soften the legions in his
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favour; he called upon individuals by name, and by ample promises hoped to raise a spirit of sedition. His success was such, that an eagle-bearer of the sixth legion deserted to him with his standard. Sentius resolved to carry the place by assault. The signal for the charge was given; scaling ladders were advanced to the walls; the foremost in courage began to mount to the top of the works; while an incessant volley of darts, and stones, and flaming brands was poured in upon the garrison. Piso desired to capitulate. He offered to lay down his arms, upon condition that he should remain in the castle till the emperor's pleasure touching the government of the province should be finally declared. The proposition was rejected. Sentius allowed him safe conduct to Italy, and shipping for his passage: no other terms were granted.

LXXXII. THE indisposition of Germanicus was known at Rome some time before his death. The news, like all distant intelligence, increased every moment, and bad was made worse by exaggeration. Grief and loud complaints filled every quarter of the city. "Was it for this, that Germanicus was sent to distant regions? For this, was the province of Syria assigned to Piso? This is the consequence of private interviews between Livia and Plancina! When Drusus, the father of Germanicus, died, it was observed by men of reflection, and observed with truth, that if the son of a despotic prince is the friend of civil liberty, his father never forgives his virtues. It was for this that Drusus and Germanicus were snatched away from the Roman people. They intended to restore the old constitution, and they perished in the cause." Such were the sentiments that prevailed at Rome. The fatal news at length arrived. In that moment the passions of men knew no bounds. Without waiting for an edict of the magistrates, or a decree of the senate, a cessation of all busi-

ness took place; the courts of justice were deserted; houses were shut up; shrieks and groans burst out, and at intervals a deep and awful silence followed.

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A general mourning covered the face of the city. The exterior forms of grief were observed, but the anguish of the heart surpassed all outward show. It happened, before Germanicus expired, that certain traders from Syria arrived at Rome with favourable accounts. What was wished, was easily believed. The news spread with rapidity; he who heard imperfectly made his report with additions; others did the same; and thus the story went on, gathering strength from mouth to mouth, and diffusing universal joy. The populace ran wild through the streets; they threw open the gates of the temples (*a*); night came on; the hurry still continued; assertion grew more confident in the dark, and credulity listened with a greedy ear. Tiberius saw the delusion, but calmly left it to its own futility. Time disclosed the truth; the people renewed their sorrow with redoubled violence, as if the prince had been torn from them a second time.

LXXXIII. THE senate met to decree honours to his memory. Friendship put itself to the stretch, and men of talents exhausted their invention. It was voted that the name of Germanicus should be inserted in the Salian Hymn (*a*); that a curule chair, adorned with a civic crown, should be placed in the college of Augustan priests; that his statue, wrought in ivory, should be carried in the procession of the Circensian games; and that the vacancy made by his death in the list of flamens and augurs, should be filled from the Julian family only. Triumphal arches were ordered to be erected at Rome, on the Rhine, and mount Amanus in Syria, with inscriptions setting forth the splendor of his actions, and, in direct terms, declaring that he died in the

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service of his country. At Antioch, where his remains were burnt, a mausoleum was ordered; and at Epidaphne, where he died, a tribunal in honour of his memory. Of the several statues, and the places where they were to be worshipped, it would be difficult to give a regular catalogue. It was farther proposed that a shield of pure gold (*b*), exceeding the ordinary size, should be dedicated to him in the place allotted to orators of distinguished eloquence. Tiberius overruled the motion, declaring his intention to order one of the common size, and the usual metal. Superior rank, he said, did not confer superior eloquence. A place among the great writers of antiquity would be sufficient honour. The equestrian order came to a resolution, that the troop called the youthful squadron, should for the future take its name from Germanicus; and that his image should be carried at the head of their annual cavalcade, on the ides of July. Of these several institutions, many are still subsisting; some fell into disuse; and others by length of time have been abolished.

LXXXIV. WHILE the tears of the public still flowed for Germanicus, Livia, the sister of that prince, and the wife of Drusus, was delivered of two sons at a birth. In families of inferior rank, events of this kind are rare, and always matter of joy. Tiberius was transported beyond measure. He had the vanity to boast before the senate, that so singular a blessing had never happened to any Roman of equal dignity. It was the policy of that subtle spirit to extract from every occurrence, and even from chance, something that tended to his own glory. The people, however, did not sympathize with the emperor. They saw, with regret, the family of Drusus increasing, and that of Germanicus in danger of being eclipsed.

LXXXV. IN the course of this year, several decrees against
the

the licentiousness of female manners passed the senate. It was ordained by a law, that no woman whose grandfather, father, or husband was a Roman knight, should be allowed to make her person venal. The profligacy of Vistilia, descended from a father of prætorian rank, gave rise to this regulation. She presented herself before the ædiles, and in form made a public profession of lewdness (*a*), according to the rule established in ancient times, when women, registered as harlots by the magistrate, had the privilege of leading a life of debauchery. The principle of that law was, that the very act of professing the character of a prostitute would be a punishment, and perhaps operate as a restraint. Titidius Labeo, the husband of Vistilia, was cited to assign a reason why so abandoned a woman had not been brought to condign punishment. To exculpate himself, he alleged that the sixty days (*b*), allowed by law for the consultations necessary in matters of that nature, were not elapsed. Satisfied with the answer, the fathers thought it sufficient to proceed against the adultress. She was banished to the Isle of Seriphos. The Ægyptian (*c*) and Jewish ceremonies were the next subject of debate. By a decree of the senate, four thousand of that description, the descendants of enfranchised slaves, all infected with foreign superstition, and of age to carry arms, were transported to the island of Sardinia, to make war upon the freebooters, who plundered the inhabitants, and ravaged the country. If the whole number died in that unwholesome climate, the loss, it was said, would be of no kind of moment. The remaining sectaries were ordered, at a certain day, to depart out of Italy, unless before that time they renounced their impious worship.

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LXXXVI. THE choice of a vestal virgin, in the room of Occia, who had been, with the greatest sanctity of manners, president of the order during a space of seven-and-fifty years, was by Tiberius

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referred to the senate. Fonteius Agrippa, and Domitius Pollio, made each of them an offer of his daughter. The emperor commended their zeal for the public service. The daughter of Pollio was preferred. Her mother had never known but one husband, and, still continuing to live with him, gave an example of conjugal fidelity; whereas the divorce of Agrippa was considered as a blemish in the family. That reason, and that only, determined the present choice. The repulse of the disappointed candidate was softened by a present of a thousand great sesterces, granted by Tiberius.

LXXXVII. To appease the clamours of the people about the exorbitant price of corn, the sum to be paid by the purchaser was ascertained, Tiberius undertaking to grant a bounty of two sesterces on the measure (*a*), as an encouragement to the vender. On this, as on former occasions, he refused the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. He even censured, with a degree of asperity, the zeal of those who gave him the appellation of LORD AND MASTER, and ~~wanted~~ to dignify his administration with the epithet of DIVINE (*b*). In this manner, eloquence was confined within narrow limits. What topic could be safely handled? The emperor was the enemy of civil liberty, and he detested flattery.

LXXXVIII. In the memoirs of some of the senators of that day, and also in the works of contemporary writers, mention, I find, is made of letters from Adgandestrius, prince of the Cattians, which were read in the senate. They contained a proposal to dispatch Arminius, provided poison for that purpose were sent from Rome. The answer was magnificent: the German was told that the Roman people were in the habit of waging war, not by fraud and covert stratagem, but sword in hand, and in the field of battle. In this instance, Tiberius vied with the ge-

nerals of ancient Rome, who with scorn rejected the scheme of poisoning Pyrrhus (*a*), and even delivered up the traitor who harboured that base design.

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Arminius, however, did not long survive. The Roman army being withdrawn from Germany, and Maroboduus ruined, he had the ambition to aim at the sovereign power. The independent spirit of his countrymen declared against him. A civil war ensued. Arminius fought with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, and fell at last by the treachery of his own relations: a man of warlike genius, and, beyond all question, the deliverer of Germany. He had not, like the kings and generals of a former day, the infancy of Rome to cope with: he had to struggle with a great and flourishing empire; he attacked the Romans in the meridian of their glory. He stood at bay for a number of years with equivocal success; sometimes victorious, often defeated, but in the issue of the war still unconquered. He died at the age of seven-and-thirty, after twelve years of fame and power. In the rude poetry of the Barbarians (*b*), his name is celebrated to this hour; unknown indeed to the annalists of Greece, who embellish nothing but their own story. Even amongst the Romans, the character of this illustrious chief has met with little justice, absorbed as the people are in their veneration of antiquity, while to the virtue of their own times they remain insensible and incurious.

THE
ANNALS
OF
TACITUS.

BOOK III.

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These transactions include three years.

Years of Rome—of Christ	Consuls.
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774	21 <i>Tiberius, 4th time; Drusus, his son, 2d time.</i>
775	22 <i>D. Haterius Agrippa, C. Sulpicius Galba.</i>

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AGRIPPINA pursued her voyage without intermission. Neither the rigour of the winter, nor the rough navigation in that season of the year, could alter her resolution. She arrived at the island of Corcyra, opposite to the coast of Calabria. At that place she remained a few days, to appease the agitations of a mind pierced to the quick, and not yet taught in the school of affliction to submit with patience. The news of her arrival spreading far and wide, the intimate friends of the family, and most of the officers, who had served under Germanicus, with a number of strangers from the municipal towns, some to pay their court, others carried along with the current, pressed forward in crowds to the city of Brundisium, the nearest and most convenient port.

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As soon as the fleet came in sight of the harbour, the sea-coast, the walls of the city, the tops of houses, and every place that gave even a distant view, were crowded with spectators. Compassion throbbed in every breast. In the hurry of their first emotions, men knew not what part to act: should they receive her with acclamations? or would silence best suit the occasion? Nothing was settled. The fleet entered the harbour, not with the alacrity usual among mariners, but with a slow and solemn sound of the oar, impressing deeper melancholy on every heart.

Agrippina came forth, leading two of her children (*a*), with the urn of Germanicus in her hand, and her eyes steadfastly fixed upon that precious object. A general groan was heard. Men and women, relations and strangers, all joined in one promiscuous scene of sorrow, varied only by the contrast between the attendants of Agrippina, and those who now received the first impression. The former appeared with a languid air; while the latter, yielding to the sensation of the moment, broke out with all the vehemence of recent grief.

II. TIBERIUS had ordered to Brundisium two prætorian cohorts. The magistrates of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, had it in command to pay every mark of honour to the memory of the emperor's son. The urn was borne on the shoulders of the centurions and tribunes, preceded by the colours, not displayed with military pomp, but drooping in disorder, with all the negligence of grief. The fasces were inverted. In the colonies through which they passed, the populace in mourning, and the knights in their purple robes, threw into the flames rich perfumes, spices, and garments, with other funeral offerings, according to the ability of the place. Even from distant towns the people came in crowds to meet the procession; they presented victims; they erected

erected altars to the gods of departed souls, and by their lamentations marked their sense of the public calamity. Drusus advanced as far as Terracina, accompanied by Claudius (*a*), the brother of Germanicus, and the children of the deceased prince that had been left at Rome. The consuls, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Marcus Aurelius Cotta, who a little before had entered on their magistracy, with the whole senate, and a numerous body of citizens, went out to meet the melancholy train. The road was crowded; no order kept, no regular procession; they walked, and wept, as inclination prompted. Flattery had no share in the business: where the court rejoiced in secret, men could not weep themselves into favour. Tiberius indeed dissembled, but he could not deceive. Through the thin disguise the malignant heart was seen.

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III. NEITHER the emperor nor his mother appeared in public. They imagined, perhaps, that to be seen in a state of affliction, might derogate from their dignity; or, the better reason was, that a number of prying eyes might unmask their inmost sentiments. It does not appear, either in the historians of the time, or in the public journals, that Antonia (*a*), the mother of Germanicus, took any part in the funeral ceremony. Agrippina, Drusus, Claudius, and the rest of the prince's relations, are registered by name; but of Antonia no mention is made. She was probably hindered from attending by want of health, or the sensibility of a mother might be unequal to so severe a trial. To speak my own opinion, I am inclined to believe that nothing but the emperor and his mother could restrain her from the last human office to her son. If all three absented themselves, equal affliction might be inferred; and the uncle and grandmother might be supposed to find a precedent in the conduct of the mother.

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IV. THE day on which the remains of Germanicus were deposited in the tomb of Augustus, was remarkable for sorrow in various shapes. A deep and mournful silence prevailed, as if Rome was become a desert; and, at intervals, the general groan of a distracted multitude broke forth at once. The streets were crowded; the Field of Mars glittered with torches; the soldiers were under arms; the magistrates appeared without the ensigns of their authority; and the people stood ranged in their several tribes. All, with one voice, despaired of the commonwealth; they spoke their minds without reserve, in the anguish of their hearts forgetting the master that reigned over them. Nothing, however, touched Tiberius so near, as the decided affection of the people for Agrippina, who was styled the ornament of her country, the only blood of Augustus, and the last remaining model of ancient manners. With hands upraised, the people invoked the gods, imploring them to protect the children of Germanicus from the malice of pernicious enemies.

V. THERE were at that time men of reflection who thought the whole of the ceremony short of that funeral pomp which the occasion required. The magnificence displayed in honour of Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was put in contrast to the present frugality. “ Augustus, in the depth of winter, went as
“ far as Ticinum to meet the body; and, never quitting it after-
“ wards, entered the city in the public procession. The bier was
“ decorated with the images of the Claudian and the Livian fa-
“ milies: tears were shed in the forum; a funeral oration was
“ delivered from the rostrum; and every honour, as well of
“ ancient as of modern invention, was offered to the memory
“ of the deceased. How different was the case at present? Even
“ the distinctions usually granted to persons of illustrious rank,
“ were refused to Germanicus. The body was committed to the
“ funeral pile in a foreign land; that was an act of necessity;
“ but,

“ but, to compensate for the first deficiency, too much could not
 “ be done. One day’s journey was all that a brother performed.
 “ The uncle did not so much as go to the city-gate. Where now
 “ the usage of ancient times? Where the bed on which the
 “ image of the deceased lay in state? Where the verses in honour
 “ of departed virtue? Where the funeral panegyric, and the tear
 “ that embalms the dead? If real tears were not ready to gush,
 “ where, at least, were the forms of grief? and where the decency
 “ of pretended sorrow?”

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VI. TIBERIUS was not ignorant of what passed. To appease the murmurs of the people, he issued a proclamation, in which it was observed, “ that eminent men had at various times fallen in
 “ the service of their country, though none were so sincerely
 “ lamented as Germanicus. The regret shewn on the present
 “ occasion, did honour to the virtue of the people, and the imperial dignity; but grief must have its bounds. That which
 “ might be proper in private families, or in petty states, would
 “ ill become the grandeur of a people (*a*) who gave laws to the
 “ world. Recent affliction must have its course. The heart
 “ overflows, and in that discharge finds its best relief. It was
 “ now time to act with fortitude. Julius Cæsar (*b*) lost an only
 “ daughter; Augustus saw his grandsons prematurely snatched
 “ away; but their grief was inward only. They bore the
 “ stroke of affliction with silent dignity. If the authority of ancient times were requisite, conjunctures might be mentioned,
 “ in which the Roman people saw, with unshaken constancy, the
 “ loss of their generals, the overthrow of their armies, and the
 “ destruction of the noblest families. Whatever may be the fate
 “ of noble families, the commonwealth is immortal. Let all resume their former occupations; and, since the (*c*) Megalensian
 “ games

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“ games were near at hand, let the diversions of the season assuage
“ the general sorrow.”

VII. THE vacation from public business was now concluded. The people returned to their ordinary functions, and Drusus set out for the army in Illyricum. At Rome, in the mean time, all were impatient to see Piso brought to justice. That an offender of such magnitude should be suffered to roam at large through the delightful regions of Asia and Achaia, roused the general indignation. By such contumacy the law was eluded, and the evidence was growing weaker every day. The fact was, Martina, that notorious dealer in poison, whom Sentius, as has been mentioned, ordered to be conveyed to Rome, died suddenly at Brundisium. Poison was said to have been found in the tangles of her hair, but no trace of suicide appeared on any part of her body.

VIII. PISO, taking his measures in time, sent his son to Rome with instructions to prepossess the emperor in his favour. He went himself to seek an interview with Drusus; persuaded that he should find the prince not so much exasperated at the loss of a brother, as pleased with an event that delivered him from a rival. The son arrived at Rome. Tiberius, to shew that nothing was prejudged, gave the youth a gracious reception; adding the presents usually bestowed on persons of rank on their return from the provinces. Drusus saw the elder Piso, and frankly told him, that if what was rumoured abroad appeared to be founded in truth, the charge demanded his keenest resentment; but he rather hoped to find the whole unsupported by proof, that no man might deserve to suffer for the death of Germanicus. This answer was given in public; no private audience was admitted. The prince, it was generally believed, had his lesson from Tiberius; it being improbable that a young man of
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a free and open disposition, unhackneyed in the ways of business, could not have acted with that guarded reserve which marked the veteran in politics.

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IX. PISO crossed the gulf of Dalmatia (*a*), and, leaving his ships at Ancona, went forward to Picenum. From that place he pursued his journey on the Flamminian road, and on his way met a legion marching from Pannonia to Rome, in order to proceed from thence to serve in Africa. This incident was variously canvassed by the people. A criminal, it was said, presumes to join the soldiers on their march, and even waylays them at their quarters, to curry favour with his military friends. Piso heard of these complaints, and, to avoid suspicion, or because it is the nature of guilt to be always wavering and irresolute, at Narni he embarked on the Nar, and, sailing down the Tiber, landed on the Field of Mars, near the tomb of the Cæsars. This was another cause of popular discontent: in open day, amidst a crowd of spectators, he and his wife Plancina made their appearance; the former surrounded by a tribe of clients, and the latter by a train of female attendants; all with an air of gaiety, bold, erect, and confident. Piso's house overlooked the forum; preparations were made for a sumptuous entertainment; the scene was adorned with splendid decorations; and, from the nature of the situation, nothing could remain a secret. The whole was exposed to the public eye.

X. ON the following day Fulcinius Trio exhibited an accusation before the consuls. To this proceeding Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who had attended Germanicus into Asia, made strong objections; alleging, that Trio had not so much as a colour to entitle him to the conduct of the prosecution. As to themselves, they did not mean to stand forth as

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accusers; but they had the last commands of Germanicus, and to the facts within their knowledge intended to appear as witnesses. Trio waved his pretensions, but still claimed a right to prosecute for former misdemeanors. That liberty was allowed. Application was made to the emperor, that the cause might be heard before himself. The request was perfectly agreeable to the accused party, who was not to learn that the senate and the people were prejudiced against him. Tiberius, he knew, was firm enough to resist popular clamour; and, in conjunction with Livia, had acted an underhand part in the business. Besides this, the truth, he thought, would be better investigated before a single judge, than in a mixed assembly, where intrigue and party violence too often prevailed. Tiberius, however, saw the importance of the cause, and felt the imputations (*a*) thrown out against himself. To avoid a situation so nice and difficult, he consented to hear, in the presence of a few select friends, the heads of the charge, with the answers of the defendant; and then referred the whole to the consideration of the senate.

XI. DURING these transactions, Drusus returned from Illyricum. For the captivity of Maroboduus, and the prosperous events of the preceding summer, an ovation had been decreed by the senate; but he chose to postpone that honour, and entered the city as a private man. Piso moved that Titus Arruntius, T. Vinicius, Asinius Gallus, Æterninus Marcellus, and Sextus Pompeius, might be assigned as advocates to defend his cause. Under different pretexts they all excused themselves; and in their room, Marcus Lepidus, Lucius Piso, and Livineius Regulus, were appointed. The whole city was big with expectation. It remained to be seen how far the friends of Germanicus would act with firmness; what resources Piso had left; and whether Tiberius would speak his mind, or continue,

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as usual, dark and impenetrable. No juncture had ever occurred in which the people were so warmly interested; none, when in private discourse men made such bitter reflections; and none, when suspicion harboured such gloomy apprehensions.

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XII. AT the next meeting of the senate, Tiberius, in a pre-meditated speech, explained his sentiments. "Piso," he observed, "had been the friend and chosen lieutenant of Augustus; and was lately named, with the approbation of the senate, to assist Germanicus in the administration of the eastern provinces. Whether, in that station, he had made it his business, by arrogance and a contentious spirit, to exasperate the prince; whether he rejoiced at his death; and, above all, whether he was accessory to it; were questions that called for a strict, but fair enquiry. If he, who was only second in command, exceeded the limits of his commission, regardless of the duty which he owed to his superior officer; if he beheld the death of Germanicus, and the loss which I have suffered, with unnatural, with fell delight; from that moment he becomes the object of my fixed aversion. I forbid him to enter my palace; he is my own personal enemy. But the emperor must not revenge the private quarrels of Tiberius. Should murder be brought home to him, a crime of that magnitude, which in the case of the meanest citizen calls aloud for vengeance, is not to be forgiven: it will be yours, conscript fathers, to administer consolation to the children of Germanicus; it will be yours to assuage the sorrows of an afflicted father, and a grandmother overwhelmed with grief.

"In the course of the enquiry, it will be material to know whether Piso endeavoured, with a seditious spirit, to incite the army to a revolt. Did he try by sinister arts to seduce the affections

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“ of the soldiers? Was his sword drawn to recover possession
 “ of the province? Are these things true, or are they the mere
 “ suggestions of the prosecutors, with intent to aggravate the
 “ charge? Their zeal, it must be owned, has been intemperate.
 “ By laying the body naked at Antioch, and exposing it to
 “ public view, what good end could be answered? Why were
 “ foreign nations alarmed with a report of poison, when the
 “ fact is still problematical, and remains to be tried? I lament
 “ the loss of my son, and shall ever lament it: but, notwithstanding
 “ all my feelings, it is competent to the defendant to repel
 “ the charge; he is at liberty to bring forward whatever may
 “ tend to establish his innocence, and even to arraign the con-
 “ duct of Germanicus, if any blame can be imputed to him.
 “ It is not for me to abridge any part of the defence. My
 “ affections, it is true, are interwoven with the cause: but you
 “ will not, for that reason, take imputations for guilt, nor alle-
 “ gations for conclusive proof. And since either the ties of con-
 “ sanguinity, or motives of friendship, have engaged able advo-
 “ cates to patronize the party accused, let them exert their zeal,
 “ their talents, and their eloquence. In the same manner I
 “ exhort the prosecutors: let them act with the same constancy,
 “ with equal ardour. The only distinction which the prero-
 “ gative of the prince can grant, is, that the cause shall be tried
 “ in this court, and not in the forum; in the presence of the
 “ senate, not before the common tribunals. In all things else
 “ let the forms of law be observed. The tears of Drusus, and
 “ my own affliction, are foreign to the question: let no man regard
 “ our interest; throw it out of the case, and discard from your
 “ minds the little calumnies that may glance at myself.”

XIII. Two days were allowed to the prosecutors to support
 their charge, six to prepare the defence, and three for hearing
 it.

it. Fulcinius Trio began. The ground he took was the avarice and tyranny, with which Piso conducted himself, during his administration in Spain. This was starting from a period too remote. Though convicted on that point, the defendant might still repel the present charge; and, if acquitted, he might be guilty of higher crimes. Fulcinius was followed by Servæus, Veranius, and Vitellius; all three exerting themselves with equal zeal, but the latter with superior eloquence. The points insisted upon were—"That Piso, incited by malice to Germanicus, "and his own ambitious views, diffused a spirit of licentiousness "through the Roman army. He corrupted the soldiery, and "suffered the allies of Rome to be plundered with impunity. "In consequence of those pernicious practices, the vile and "profligate hailed him FATHER OF THE LEGIONS. But his "conduct was hostile to all good men, and more directly to "the friends of Germanicus. To fill the measure of his iniquity, "he had recourse to magic arts, and the prince was destroyed "by poison. Piso and his wife Plancina were known to have "assisted in superstitious rites and impious sacrifices. And yet "the prisoner did not stop there: he was guilty of rebellion; "he appeared in arms against the state; and, before he could "be brought to justice as a citizen, he was conquered as an "enemy."

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XIV. THE defence in every article, except that which related to the crime of poison, was weak and ineffectual. The charge of debauching the soldiers by bribery, the rapacity of his creatures, and the insults offered to Germanicus, were stubborn facts, and could not be denied. The crime of poisoning seemed to be sufficiently answered. It was left on weak ground by the managers of the prosecution. All they had to urge in support of

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of that article, was a bare allegation, that Piso, at an entertainment given by Germanicus, being placed on a couch above the prince, had contrived with his own hands to mingle poison with the victuals. An attempt of the kind, in the midst of servants not his own, under the eye of numbers, and in the very presence of Germanicus, seemed improbable, and indeed absurd. To refute it altogether, Piso made a tender of his slaves to be questioned on the rack, demanding, at the same time, that the domestics of Germanicus, who waited that day at table, should undergo the like examination. But nothing made an impression on the judges. For different reasons they were all implacable; Tiberius, on account of the war levied in Syria; the senators, from a full persuasion that treachery had a hand in the death of Germanicus. A motion was made for the production of all letters written to the criminal by Tiberius and Livia. This was opposed with vehemence, not only by Piso, but also by the emperor. The clamours of the populace, who surrounded the senate-house, were heard within doors. The cry was, if Piso escaped by the judgment of the fathers, he should die by the hands of the people. They had already seized his statues, and, in their fury, dragged them to the place of execution called the Gemoniæ (*a*), with intent to break them into fragments. By order of Tiberius they were rescued out of their hands. Piso was conveyed home in a litter, guarded by a tribune of the prætorian bands: but whether that officer was sent to protect him from the populace, or to see justice executed, was left to conjecture and vague report.

XV. PLANCINA, no less than her husband, was an object of public detestation; but protected by court favour, she was thought to be out of the reach of her enemies. What Tiberius

would do was uncertain. While she supposed herself involved in the fate of Piso, without a gleam of better hope, her language was that of a woman willing to share all chances with her husband, and, if he was doomed to fall, determined to perish with him. Having, in the mean time, by the interest of Livia, obtained her pardon, she began to change her tone, and pursue a separate interest. Finding himself thus abandoned, Piso despaired of his cause. Without further struggle, he intended to resign himself to his fate; but, by the advice of his sons, he resumed his courage, and once more appeared before the senate. The prosecution was renewed with vigour; the fathers spoke in terms of acrimony; every thing was adverse; and the prisoner plainly saw that his fate was decided. In this distress nothing affected him so deeply as the behaviour of Tiberius, who sat in fullen silence, neither provoked to anger, nor softened by compassion, with his usual art stifling every emotion of the heart. Piso was conducted back to his house. He there wrote a few lines, in appearance preparing his defence for the ensuing day, and having sealed the paper, delivered it to one of his freedmen. The usual attentions to his person filled up his time, till, at a late hour of the night, his wife having left the room, he ordered the door to be made fast. In the morning he was found dead; his throat cut, and his sword lying near him on the ground.

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XVI. I REMEMBER to have heard from men advanced in years, that a bundle of papers, not produced at the trial, was often seen in the hands of Piso, containing, as his friends attested, the letters of Tiberius, full of instructions hostile to Germanicus. These documents would have transferred the guilt to the emperor; but, by the delusive promises of Sejanus, they were all suppressed. It was also confidently said that Piso did not lay violent hands on himself,

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himself, but died by the stroke of an affassin. For the truth of these assertions I do not mean to be answerable; I state the facts as I heard them related by men with whom I conversed in my youth; and the anecdotes of such men may be deemed worthy of attention.

Tiberius attended the next meeting of the senate. He there complained, with seeming anxiety, that the death of Piso was intended to reflect dishonour on himself. He sent for the freedman, who had received the paper sealed up, as already stated, and enquired particularly about his master; how he passed the last of his days? and what happened in the course of the night? The man answered in some instances with caution, and in others off his guard. The emperor produced Piso's letter, and read it to the senate. It was nearly in the following words: "Oppressed by the malice of my enemies, and falling
" under a load of imputed guilt, without a friend to espouse the
" truth, or shelter innocence, I call the immortal gods to witness,
" that to you, Cæsar, I have, through life, preserved my faith
" inviolate. For your mother I have ever felt the sincerest
" veneration. I conjure you both to take my sons under your
" protection. Cneius Piso is innocent. Nothing that happened
" in Asia can be imputed to him, since he remained, during
" the whole time, at Rome. His brother Marcus, when I re-
" turned to the province of Syria, was strenuous against the
" measure. Would to Heaven that I had yielded to the advice
" of a young man, and that my authority had not silenced
" all opposition. For him I offer up my fervent prayers: let
" not the errors of the father bring down ruin on the son.
" If in the course of five-and-forty years I have been devoted
" to your service; if Augustus made me his colleague in the
" con-

“ consulship (*a*); if the remembrance of our early friendship
 “ can now avail: by all those ties I implore your mercy for my
 “ unhappy son. It is the request of a dying father; the last I
 “ shall ever make.” He made no mention of Plancina.

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XVII. TIBERIUS declared his opinion, that Marcus Piso, being under the controul of his father (*a*), ought not to be answerable for the civil war. He mentioned the regard due to an illustrious house, and even lamented the unhappy lot of the deceased, though brought upon him by misconduct. He spoke in favour of Plancina, but with an air of embarrassment, conscious of his own duplicity. The intercession of his mother was a colour for the part he acted; but thinking men were by no means satisfied. On the contrary, their hatred of Livia was more embittered than ever. They exclaimed without reserve, “ Shall the grandmother admit to her presence a woman stained
 “ with the blood of her grandson? Shall she converse in familiar
 “ freedom with a murderers? Must she receive to her arms an
 “ abandoned woman, and by her influence rescue her from the
 “ vengeance of the senate? The laws protect the meanest citizen;
 “ but in the case of Germanicus they have lost their vigour.
 “ Vitellius and Veranius poured forth their eloquence in the
 “ cause of a prince cut off by treachery, while the emperor and
 “ his mother side with Plancina. That pernicious woman may
 “ now with impunity continue her trade of poisoning; she may
 “ practise her detestable arts on the life of Agrippina and her
 “ children; she may proceed in her iniquity, and, with the blood
 “ of an illustrious, but unhappy family, glut the rage of a
 “ dissembling uncle and a worthless grandmother.” For two days together Rome was amused with a mock-trial of Plancina. Tiberius, in the mean time, exhorted Piso’s sons to stand forth in

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defence of their mother. The charge was opened; the witnesses were examined, and the orators spared neither zeal nor eloquence in support of the prosecution: no reply was made; the wretched condition of a helpless woman began to operate on the feelings of the fathers, and prejudice was melted into pity. Aurelius Cotta, the consul, was the first that gave his vote, according to a settled rule (*b*), whenever the question was put by the emperor. The opinion of Cotta was, that the name of Piso should be razed out of the public registers; that part of his estate should be confiscated, and the rest granted to Cneius Piso, upon condition that he changed the family name; and that his brother Marcus, divested of all civil honours, should be condemned to banishment for the space of ten years, with a sum, however, of fifty thousand great sesterces for his support. In deference to the solicitations of Livia, it was proposed to grant a free pardon to Plancina.

XVIII. THIS sentence, in many particulars, was mitigated by Tiberius. The family name, he said, ought not to be abolished, while that of Mark Anthony, who appeared in arms against his country, as well as that of Julius Antonius (*a*), who by his intrigues dishonoured the house of Augustus, subsisted still, and figured in the Roman annals. Marcus Piso was left in possession of his civil dignities and his father's fortune. Avarice, as has been already observed, was not the passion of Tiberius. On this occasion, the disgrace incurred by the partiality shewn to Plancina, softened his temper, and made him the more willing to extend his mercy to the son. Valerius Messalinus moved, that a golden statue might be erected in the temple of Mars the avenger. An altar to vengeance was proposed by Cæcina Severus. Both these motions were over-ruled by the emperor.

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The principle on which he argued was, that public monuments, however proper in cases of foreign conquest, were not suited to the present juncture. Domestic calamity should be lamented, and as soon as possible consigned to oblivion.

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Messalinus added to his motion a vote of thanks to Tiberius and Livia, to Antonia, Agrippina, and Drusus, for their zeal in bringing to justice the enemies of Germanicus. The name of Claudius (*b*) was not mentioned. Lucius Asprenas desired to know whether that omission was intended. The consequence was, that Claudius was inserted in the vote. Upon an occasion like this, it is impossible not to pause for a moment, to make a reflection that naturally rises out of the subject. When we review what has been doing in the world, is it not evident, that in all transactions, whether of ancient or of modern date, some strange caprice of fortune turns all human wisdom to a jest? In the juncture before us, Claudius figured so little on the stage of public business, that there was scarce a man in Rome, who did not seem, by the voice of fame and the wishes of the people, designed for the sovereign power, rather than the very person, whom fate, in that instant, cherished in obscurity, to make him, at a future period, master of the Roman world.

XIX. THE senate, a few days afterwards, on the motion of Tiberius, granted the sacerdotal dignity to Vitellius, Veranius, and Servæus. Fulcinius Trio received a promise of the emperor's favour in his road to honours, but was at the same time admonished to restrain the ardour of his genius, lest, by overheated vehemence, he might mar his eloquence. In this manner ended the enquiry concerning the death of Germanicus; a subject which has been variously represented, not only by men of

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that day, but by all subsequent writers. It remains, to this hour, the problem of history. A cloud for ever hangs over the most important transactions, while, on the one hand, credulity adopts for fact the report of the day; and, on the other, politicians warp and disguise the truth: between both parties two different accounts go down from age to age, and gain strength with posterity.

Drusus thought it time to enjoy the honours of a public entry. For this purpose he went out of the city, and, having assisted at the ceremony of the auspices, returned with the splendour of an *ovation*. In a few days after he lost his mother Vipsania (*a*); of all the children of Agrippa, the only one that died a natural death. The rest were brought to a tragic end; some, as is well known, by the murderer's stroke; and others, as is generally believed, by poison or by famine.

XX. IN the same year Tacfarinas, the Numidian chief, whom we have seen defeated by Camillus in a former campaign, once more commenced hostilities in Africa. He began by sudden incursions; depending for his safety on the rapidity of his flight. Emboldened by success, he attacked several towns and villages, and went off enriched with plunder. At length, at a place near the river Pagida (*a*), he hemmed in a Roman cohort, and held them closely besieged. Decrius, a gallant and experienced officer, who commanded the fort, considered the blockade as a disgrace to the Roman arms. Having exhorted his men to face the enemy on the open plain, he marched out, and formed in order of battle. At the first onset the Barbarians made an impression. The cohort gave way. Decrius braved every danger. Amidst a volley of darts, he opposed his person
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to stop the flight of his men; he called aloud to the standard-bearers, charging them not to incur the shame and infamy of yielding to an undisciplined rabble, a vile collection of runaways and deserters. His efforts were ineffectual. Covered with wounds, and one eye pierced through, he still persisted with undaunted valour, till at last, abandoned by his troops, he died bravely sword in hand.

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XXI. LUCIUS APRONIUS, who had succeeded Camillus as proconsul of Africa, received the account of this defeat with indignation. The disgrace of the Roman arms touched him more than the glory that accrued to the Barbarians. He resolved to expiate the infamy by a dreadful punishment, founded, indeed, upon ancient precedent, and recorded in history; but in modern times fallen into disuse. He ordered the cohort, whose behaviour had been so ignominious, to be decimated (*a*): every man upon whom the lot fell, died under repeated blows of the cudgel. The consequence of this severity was, that a body of five hundred veterans, stationed in garrison at Thala (*b*), maintained their post against the attempts of Tacfarinas, and even routed the troops lately flushed with victory. In this action Rufus Helvius, a common soldier, obtained the glory of saving the life of a Roman citizen. He was rewarded by Apronius with a spear and collar. Tiberius ordered the civic crown to be added, observing, at the same time, that the proconsul had the power of granting that reward: yet he censured the omission without asperity, pleased that something was reserved for himself.

Tacfarinas, finding his Numidians unwilling, after their defeat, to undertake a siege, changed his plan of operations. He chose a roving kind of war; if the Romans advanced, quick in retreat,

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treat, and, as soon as the pursuit was over, wheeling round to hang upon the rear. By this desultory mode of skirmishing, the wily African baffled and fatigued the Roman army, till having ravaged the country near the sea-coast, and loaded his men with booty, he was obliged to pitch his camp. In that situation Apronius Cæfianus, son of the proconsul, at the head of the cavalry, the auxiliary cohorts, and a body of light infantry draughted from the legions, gave battle to the Numidian, and, having gained a complete victory, obliged him to fly to his wilds and deserts.

XXII. AT Rome, in the mean time, a prosecution was carried on against Lepida (*a*), a woman of illustrious birth, descended from the Æmilian family, and great grand-daughter both to Sylla and Pompey. She was married to Publius Quirinius, a citizen of great wealth, far advanced in years, but without children to inherit his estate. The wife was charged with an attempt to pass a supposititious child for his legitimate issue. Other articles were added; such as adultery, dealing in poison, and consultations with Chaldean astrologers concerning the fate of the imperial family. Her brother, Manius Lepidus, undertook her defence. Quirinius had repudiated her; and yet, after his divorce, attacked her with implacable resentment. This circumstance, notwithstanding the guilt and infamy of Lepida, rendered her an object of compassion. In the course of the proceeding, the real sentiments of Tiberius eluded all discovery. Fluctuating between opposite passions, he mixed and shifted mercy and resentment in such quick succession, that where he would fix it was impossible to guess. He desired that the crime of violated majesty might be thrown out of the case, and, in a short time after, ordered Marcus Servilius, of consular rank, and the rest of the witnesses, to prove the very facts over which he pretended to draw a veil. He removed the slaves of Lepida, who had been placed under a military guard,

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to the custody (*b*) of the consuls; nor would he suffer them to be examined under the torture upon any point that concerned himself or his family. He exempted Drusus, though consul elect, from the rule, that required him to give the first vote. This by some was considered as a true republican principle, that the fathers might give their voices, free and uninfluenced by the example of the prince. Others called it a stroke of subtle cruelty; it being by no means probable, that Drusus would decline to speak in order of time, if a sentence of condemnation had not been already fixed.

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XXIII. THE celebration of the public games suspended the trial for some days. In that interval, Lepida, accompanied by a train of illustrious women, entered the theatre (*a*): in a pathetic strain she invoked her ancestors; she called on Pompey in his own theatre (that monument of grandeur), and addressed herself to the images of that illustrious man. Her grief made an impression; tears gushed from the eyes of the people, and, indignation soon succeeding, bitter execrations were thrown out against Quirinius; “a superannuated dotard, sprung from a mean extraction, to whom, in the decline of life, a noble dame, formerly intended to be the wife of Lucius Cæsar, and, by consequence, the grand-daughter of Augustus, was joined in wedlock, that he, good man! might raise heirs to his estate.” Notwithstanding these clamours, the slaves of Lepida were put to the question. Their evidence amounted to full proof of her guilt; and, on the motion of Rubellius Blandus, she was forbid the use of fire and water. Even Drusus gave his assent, though a milder sentence would have been agreeable to the wishes of a considerable number. By the interest of Scaurus, her former husband, who had a daughter by her, the confiscation of her property was remitted. At the close of the proceedings, Tiberius informed the fathers, that he

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he had examined the slaves of Quirinius, and their evidence left him no room to doubt of a formed design to poison her husband.

XXIV. THE families of the first consequence at Rome began to feel, with regret, that their numbers were thinned by repeated misfortunes. The Calpurnian house had lately suffered by the loss of Piso, and the Æmilian was impaired by the condemnation of Lepida. In order to make some amends, Decius Silanus was restored to the Junian family. The particulars of his case seem to merit some attention. The life of Augustus was variously chequered: he was successful against his country, and in his family often unhappy. The intrigues of his daughter (*a*) and grand-daughter embittered his days. He ordered them both to depart from Rome, and punished the (*b*) adulterers with death or banishment. To the commerce natural between the sexes, that emperor gave the name of sacrilege and violated majesty; and, under colour of this new device, forgot at once the lenity of former times, and even the laws enacted by himself. But the tragic issue that befel offenders of this kind, with other memorable events of that period, shall be the subject of a distinct history, if, when the work now in hand is finished, my life shall be protracted in health and vigour for a new undertaking.

With regard to Silanus, who had a criminal connection with the grand-daughter of Augustus; his offence drew upon him no greater vengeance, than a total exclusion from the friendship of the emperor. That exclusion, as Silanus understood it, implied a sentence of banishment. He retired into voluntary exile, and never, till the reign of Tiberius, presumed to apply, either to the prince or senate, for permission to return to his country. For the favour extended to him, he was indebted to the weight and influence of his brother, Marcus Silanus, who added to his high rank

the fame of distinguished eloquence. Marcus prevailed with the emperor, and, in a full meeting of the senate, expressed his sense of the obligation. Tiberius answered, that “the return of Decius Silanus, after a long absence, was an event agreeable to all. It was, however, no more than his legal right. No law had abridged his liberty; no decree of the senate was in force against him. And yet, it was impossible for the prince to forget the wrongs done to Augustus; nor could the return of Silanus either efface his crime, or cancel what had been settled by an injured emperor.” From this time, Decius Silanus lived at Rome, a private citizen, without honours, or preferment.

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XXV. THE next care of the senate was to soften the rigour of the law Papia Poppæa (*a*); a law made by Augustus in the decline of life, when the (*b*) Julian institutions were found ineffectual. The policy was, to enforce, by additional sanctions, the penalties of celibacy, and thereby increase the revenue. Marriage, however, was not brought into fashion. To be without heirs (*c*) was still considered as a state that gave great advantages. Prosecutions multiplied, and numbers were every day drawn into danger. Informers were the interpreters of justice; and chicane and malice wrought the ruin of families. The community laboured, at first, under the vices of the times, and, afterwards, under the snares of law. From this reflection if we here go back to trace the origin of civil institutions, and the progress of that complex system which has grown up to harass mankind, the digression will not be incurious, nor altogether foreign to our purpose.

XXVI. IN the early ages of the world (*a*), men led a life of innocence and simplicity. Free from irregular passions, they knew no corruption of manners; and void of guilt, they had no need of laws. In the natural emotions of the heart they found

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incitements to virtue, and rewards were unnecessary. Having no inordinate desires, they coveted nothing, and pains and penalties were unknown. In process of time, when all equality was overturned, and, in the place of temperance and moderation, ambition and violence began to trample on the rights of man ; then monarchy was established, in several nations unlimited, absolute, and flourishing at this hour. Some states indeed, in their first formation, or, at least, soon after they had made an experiment of kings, preferred a government by law ; and law, in its origin, was, like the manners of the age, plain and simple. Of the several political constitutions known in the world, that of Crete, established by Minos ; that of Sparta, by Lycurgus ; and that of Athens, by Solon, have been chiefly celebrated. In the latter, however, we see simplicity giving way to complication and refinement. At Rome, the reign of Romulus was the reign of despotism. His will was the law. Numa Pompilius introduced the rites and ceremonies of religion, and, by establishing forms of worship, strengthened the civil union. Some improvements were added by Tullus Hostilius, and some by Ancus Martius. But the true legislator was Servius Tullius ; the author of that best policy, which made even kings the subjects of the laws.

XXVII. AFTER the expulsion of Tarquin, the people, to secure their rights from powerful factions in the senate, and to prevent the effects of civil discord, were obliged to modify the constitution by new regulations. With this view, the decemvirs were created. Those magistrates, by adopting from the wisdom of other nations what appeared worthy of selection, framed a body of laws, entitled the Twelve Tables. All sound legislation ended there. It is true that, after that time, new statutes were enacted ; but, if we except a few, suggested by the vices of the times, and passed on the spur of the occasion, they were, for the most

most part, made in the conflict of parties, and for the worst of purposes; in some instances, to lay open to ambition the road to honours; in others, to work the downfall of illustrious citizens; and, in general, with pernicious motives. Hence the Gracchi (*a*), and the Saturnini, those turbulent demagogues; and hence the violent spirit of Drusus (*b*), that famous partisan of the senate, who, by largesses and open bribery, supported the claims of the nobility, and by specious promises induced the allies of Rome to espouse his cause, deceiving them at first, and, between the senate and the popular leaders, making them, in the end, the bubble of contending factions. Hence a wild variety of contradictory laws. In the social war (*c*), which involved all Italy, and the civil commotions that followed, new ordinances were established, but with the same contentious spirit, till at length Lucius Sylla (*d*), the dictator, by repealing several laws, by amending others, and by organizing a code of his own, gave a check to the rage of legislation. But the respite was but short. The fiery genius of Lepidus (*e*) preferred a number of seditious decrees, and the tribunes (*f*) of the people, resuming their ancient powers, alarmed the state with tumult and popular commotions. The general good was no longer thought of: new characters appeared in the great scene of public business, and new statutes were enacted. In a corrupt republic vice increased, and laws were multiplied.

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XXVIII. POMPEY at length (*a*), in his third consulship, was chosen to correct abuses, and introduce a reformation of manners. His remedies were more pernicious than the mischief. He made laws, and broke them; he had recourse to arms, and by force of arms was ruined. From that time, during a period of twenty years, the rage of civil discord threw every thing into confusion. Justice was silent; the manners were corrupted; vice triumphed with impunity, and virtue met with sure destruction. At length,

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Augustus (*b*) in his sixth consulship, finding himself established without a rival, repealed the acts passed by himself during the triumvirate, and gave a new system, useful indeed to the public tranquillity, but subversive of the constitution; fit only for the government of one. The chains of slavery were closely riveted (*c*), and spies of state were appointed. To excite and animate the diligence of those new officers, the law Papia Poppæa held forth rewards. By that law, the people, under the fiction of universal parent, were declared heirs to the vacant possessions of such as lived in celibacy, regardless of the privileges annexed to the paternal character. To enforce this regulation, informers were encouraged. The genius of those men knew no bounds: they harassed the city of Rome, and stretched their harpy-hands all over Italy. Wherever they found a citizen, they found a man to be plundered. Numbers were ruined, and all were struck with terror. To stop the progress of the mischief, Tiberius ordered a set of commissioners, to be drawn by lot; five of consular rank; five prætorians, and a like number from the body of the senate. Under their direction, the law was explained; ensnaring subtleties were removed; and the evil, though not wholly cured, was palliated for the present.

XXIX. ABOUT this time Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, was entering on the state of manhood. Tiberius recommended him to the favour of the senate, adding his request, that the young prince might be excused from serving the office of the vigentivirate (*a*), with leave, five years earlier than the time limited by law, to stand candidate for the quæstorship. As a precedent for this indulgence he cited the example of Augustus, who had made the like application for himself and his brother Drusus. The proposal was a mockery, and, accordingly, men heard it with derision. Even in the reign of Augustus there were, in all probability,

bability, numbers who laughed, in secret, at the new way of commanding by petition. The artifice, however, was at that time not impolitic: the grandeur of the Cæsars was in its infancy, and the forms of the old republic were still remembered. With regard to the request made by Tiberius, it may be observed, that the relation between the step-father and the sons of his wife did not create so tender an interest, as the natural affection of a grandfather for his grandson. The senate not only granted what was asked, but added a seat in the pontifical college. The day, on which the young prince made his first appearance in the forum, was distinguished by a largess to the people, who saw with pleasure a son of Germanicus rising to the state of manhood. His marriage with Julia (*b*), the daughter of Drusus, was soon after celebrated, and diffused a general satisfaction. But another match, then in contemplation, between the son (*c*) of Claudius and a daughter of Sejanus, was received by the people with every mark of discontent. Men objected, that the lustre of the imperial family would be tarnished, and the ambition of Sejanus, already suspected, would, when strengthened by that connection, tower above the rank of a citizen.

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XXX. TOWARDS the close of the year died two men of distinguished character, namely, Lucius Volusius, and Sallustius Crispus. The former was of an ancient family, at all times highly honoured, though never raised above the prætorian rank. The deceased was the first of his house that rose to the consulship. When it was afterwards necessary to regulate the classes of the equestrian order, he was, for that purpose, advanced to the dignity of censor. In the course of his time he accumulated an immoderate fortune, and laid the foundation of that rank and splendor, in which his family flourished after him.

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The ancestors of Crispus were of equestrian rank (*a*). By the maternal line, he was grand nephew to Caius Sallustius, the accomplished Roman historian. Being adopted by that illustrious writer, he assumed the family name; and, though the road to honours lay open before him, the example of Mæcenas was the model, on which he formed his conduct. Never aspiring to the rank of senator, he lived in a degree of splendor, that eclipsed the consular magistrates, and even the commanders of armies, who had triumphed for their victories. The austerity of ancient manners was not to his taste. In his apparel and equipage he was gay and costly; in his style of living, fond of elegance, and even of luxury. Uniting in his character opposite qualities, he was at once a man of pleasure, and a statesman of consummate ability. The vigour of his mind, though often relaxed in indolence, was such as qualified him for the most arduous affairs. When occasion called, he returned to business with an elastic spring, that shewed he gained new strength from inactivity. While Mæcenas lived and flourished, Crispus acted the second character. Succeeding afterwards to that minister, he took the lead in the cabinet, the first in favour, and in all secret transactions the confidential manager. Agrippa Posthumus was cut off under his direction. In the decline of life he retained the appearance of power, without the reality; a reverse of fortune, which had been felt by Mæcenas, and which, by some fatality, is the usual end of all who bask in the sunshine of a court. Between the prince and his favourite, weariness and satiety succeed to the ardour of affection, and both begin to wean themselves from each other; the prince, when the power of giving is exhausted; and the minister, when avarice has no more to crave.

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XXXI. THE year, which we are now to open, stands distinguished by the joint consulship of the father and the son; Tiberius,

rius, for the fourth time, and Drusus, the second. It is true that, two years before, Germanicus shared the same honour; but their union was not founded in sincerity and mutual esteem. Throughout that year Tiberius beheld his colleague with a malignant eye. The tie of affinity between them was not so close as the present. Tiberius had scarce entered on the office in conjunction with Drusus, when, pretending to recruit his health, he removed into Campania, perhaps even then meditating that long retreat, which was afterwards his plan of life; perhaps, intending to give Drusus the honour of discharging the consular functions, without the assistance of his father. An incident soon occurred, in itself of little moment, but by the heat of parties it kindled to a flame, and afforded to the young consul an opportunity to gain the popular esteem. A complaint was made to the senate by Domitius Corbulo, formerly one of the prætors, stating that Lucius Sylla, a youth of illustrious rank, had refused, in a late shew of gladiators, to give place to his superior in point of years. The grave and elderly were on the side of Corbulo. They saw the rights of age infringed, and the example of ancient manners treated with contempt. Mamercus Scaurus and Lucius Arruntius undertook the defence of Sylla, and with the rest of his relations formed a party in his favour. A warm debate ensued. The practice of good times was stated, and several decrees, enforcing the reverence due to age, were cited as decisive authority. Drusus, by a qualifying speech, allayed the ferment. Corbulo declared himself satisfied with the apology made by Mamercus Scaurus, who was uncle as well as father-in-law (*a*) to Sylla, and, besides, the most eloquent orator of his time. That business being thus amicably settled, the state of the public roads was made the subject of debate by the same Corbulo. The highways, he said, were in a bad condition throughout Italy, neglected every where, and in some places impassable. He imputed the mischief to the fraudulent practices of

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of contractors, and the inattention of the magistrates. He was desired to superintend the business; but the advantage, whatever it was, that accrued to the public, did not counterbalance the ruin of individuals, who suffered, both in reputation and fortune, by the harsh decisions of Corbulo, and the confiscation of their effects.

XXXII. IN a short time after, the senate received dispatches from Tiberius, with intelligence that Africa was again alarmed by the incursions of Tacfarinas. The occasion, the emperor said, required a proconsul of military talents, and vigour equal to the fatigues of war; but the choice was left to the judgment of the fathers. Sextus Pompeius seized this opportunity to launch out in a bitter invective against Marcus Lepidus, whom he styled, a man void of courage, destitute of fortune, a disgrace to his ancestors, and by no means fit to be entrusted with the government of Asia (*a*), which had then fallen to his lot. The senate was of a different opinion. What was called want of courage, according to them, was mildness of disposition; his indigence was a misfortune, not a disgrace; nor could it be deemed a fair objection to a man, who, in narrow circumstances, supported the dignity of his ancestors, and lived, in honourable poverty, with an unblemished character. He was, therefore, declared proconsul of Asia. The choice of a governor to command in Africa was, by a decree, reserved for the decision of the emperor.

XXXIII. IN the course of the debate, a motion was made by Cæcina Severus, that the governors of provinces should be no longer accompanied by their wives. He prefaced the business with repeated declarations, that between him and his wife, who had brought him six children, the truest harmony subsisted; and yet the law, which he now proposed, had ever been the rule of his
own

own conduct; infomuch, that in a series of forty years, during which time he had served as many campaigns, his wife always remained in Italy. "It was with good reason," he said, "that in former times, women were neither allowed to visit the allies of Rome, nor to have any intercourse with foreign nations. The softer sex brought many inconveniencies; in times of peace they were prone to luxury, and in war, easily alarmed. A female train, in the march of a Roman army, presented an image of savage manners: it had the appearance of Barbarians going to battle.

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"That women are by nature feeble, and soon overcome by hardship, was not the only objection: other qualities entered into the female character, such as pride, revenge, and cruelty, and ambition. The love of power is the predominant passion of the sex, and in the exercise of it they know no bounds. They appear in the ranks; they march with the troops; and they entice the centurions to their party. We have seen, in a late instance, a woman (*a*) reviewing the cohorts, and directing the exercise of the legions. Have we forgot, that as often as rapacity and extortion have been laid to the account of the husband, the wife has proved the principal offender? She no sooner enters the province, than her party is formed. The unprincipled attend to pay their homage. She becomes a politician; she takes the lead in business, and gives a separate audience. The husband and the wife appear in public with their distinct train of attendants. Two (*b*) tribunals are established, and the female edict, dictated by caprice and tyranny, is sure to be obeyed. By the Oppian (*c*) and other laws, the wife was formerly restrained within due bounds; at present, all decorum is laid aside; women give the law in families; they preside in the tribunals of justice, and aspire to be commanders in chief."

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XXXIV. To this speech a small number assented; the rest received it with a murmur of disapprobation. The business, they said, was not in form before the fathers, and a question of that importance ought not to be drawn into debate by a self-created censor like Cæcina. His argument was answered by Valerius Messalinus; a man who derived from his father Messala (*a*), the celebrated orator, no inconsiderable share of eloquence. “The rigour,” he said, “of ancient manners has
“ taken a milder tone. The enemy is not at the gates of Rome,
“ and the provinces have no hostile intentions. In favour of
“ the tender sex some concessions ought to be made, especially
“ since it is now known by experience that the wife, so
“ far from being a burthen to the province, is scarcely felt in
“ the private œconomy of the husband. She is no more
“ than a sharer in his splendour and dignity. In time of peace
“ what danger from her presence? War, indeed, calls for vigour;
“ and men should go unencumbered to the field. When the
“ campaign is over, where can the general so well repose from
“ toil and labour as in the bosom of a wife, whose tenderness
“ relieves his pain, and sweetens every care? But women, it
“ has been said, are prone to avarice and ambition: what shall
“ be said of the magistrates? Have they been always free from
“ irregular passions? and if not, will it follow that men are to
“ be no longer trusted with the administration of the provinces?
“ We are told, that the vices of the wife have their influence on
“ the manners of the husband: and is it therefore true, that in
“ a life of celibacy we are sure of finding unblemished honour?

“ The Oppian laws were formerly deemed expedient: the
“ policy of the times required them; but the manners have
“ varied since, and with the manners the law has been modified.
“ We strive in vain, under borrowed terms, to hide our own
“ defects:”

“ defects : the truth is, if the wife exceeds the bounds of the
 “ female character, the blame falls on the husband. In two or
 “ three instances we may have seen that the men were weak and
 “ too uxorious : and shall we for that reason take from the
 “ commander of armies the most endearing comforts of mar-
 “ riage, the mutual joy in prosperity, and, in affliction, the balm
 “ that heals his sorrows? By the restraint now proposed, the
 “ weaker sex will be left in a state of destitution, the sport of
 “ their own caprice, and a prey to the passions of the profligate
 “ seducer. The presence of the husband is scarce sufficient to
 “ guard the sanctity of the marriage-bed : what must be the
 “ consequence, if they are separated, and, as it were, divorced
 “ for a number of years? In that interval, the nuptial union may
 “ be obliterated from the mind. Let us, if we can, prevent
 “ disorder in the provinces ; but let us not forget the manners
 “ of the capital.”

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In this debate Drusus delivered his sentiments. He touched upon the subject of his own marriage, and added, that the princes of the imperial house were liable to the frequent necessity of visiting distant provinces. How often did it happen that Augustus made a progress in the west, and in the east, accompanied by Livia his wife ! As to himself, he had commanded in Illyricum, and was ready, if the state required it, to serve in any part of the empire ; but he should serve with regret, if he was to be torn from an affectionate wife (*b*), the faithful mother of all his children. In consequence of these reasonings, Cæcina's motion fell to the ground.

XXXV. THE senate at their next meeting received letters from Tiberius, in which, after complaining obliquely that the burthen of all public business was thrown on himself, he named

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Manius Lepidus and Junius Blæsus for the proconsulship of Africa; leaving the choice of one of them to the determination of the fathers. Both were heard: Lepidus, with a degree of earnestness, desired to be excused; alleging the infirmities of his constitution, and the care due to his children, who, except a daughter then fit for the married state, were all of tender years. Lepidus had still a better reason, but he chose to suppress it: it was, nevertheless, well understood that Blæsus was uncle to Sejanus, and of course had the prevailing influence. Blæsus in his turn declined the office, but with affected coyness. Flattery knew on which side its interest lay; and, by consequence, the slaves of power knew how to conquer such feeble reluctance. Blæsus was of course appointed.

XXXVI. A PUBLIC grievance, which had long been felt with secret discontent, was soon after brought before the fathers. A licentious spirit of defamation prevailed at Rome, and reigned without control. The vile and profligate launched out with virulence against the best members of society, and the statues of the Cæsars were a sanctuary, where the assassins of every honest name found protection. The freedmen, and even the slaves, poured out a torrent of abuse; and, after lifting their hands against their patrons, or their masters, resorted to the same asylum, where they grew more formidable in their insolence. Caius Cestius, a member of the senate, complained of this enormity: “Princes,” he said, “represented the gods; but the gods lent a favourable ear to none but the just. Neither the capitol nor the temples were places of refuge, where guilt might find a shelter, and even encouragement. In a late prosecution Annia Rufilla was found guilty of manifest fraud; and if such a woman might with impunity, in the forum, and even in the portal of the senate, insult him with opprobrious language,

“ language, and even with menaces ; if such contumacy were
 “ permitted, and the emperor’s statue gave a sanction to evil
 “ practices, inasmuch that he could obtain no redress ; all good
 “ order was at an end, and the laws were no better than a
 “ dead letter.” Others spoke to the same effect. Facts still
 more atrocious were stated, and, with one voice, the whole
 assembly called on Drusus for exemplary punishment. Rufilla
 was cited to appear ; and, being convicted, the fathers ordered
 her to be imprisoned in the common jail.

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XXXVII. CONFIDIUS ÆQUUS and Cælius Curfor, two Roman knights, who had preferred a false charge of violated majesty against Magius Cæcilianus, then one of the prætors, were for that offence condemned, at the desire of Tiberius. From this act of justice, as well as the sentence against Rufilla, Drusus derived no small share of popularity. Men were willing to allow that, by residing at Rome, and by mixing in social meetings, he made some atonement for the dark and fullen spirit of his father. The luxurious passions of a young man were easily excused : Let him, said the people, indulge his taste for pleasure ; let him pass his day in the glare of public spectacles, and his night in social revelry, rather than live sequestered from mankind, without a joy to cheer him, in painful vigils and the gloom of solitude brooding over his cares, and thinking only to engender mischief.

XXXVIII. THE ruin of eminent citizens had not yet appeased the rage of Tiberius and his crew of informers. An accusation was preferred by Ancharius Priscus against Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete, for peculation and violated majesty. The last article was, at that time, the burthen of every prosecution (*a*).

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Antistius Vetus, a man of the first consequence in Macedonia (*b*), had been accused of adultery, and acquitted. This gave umbrage to Tiberius. He censured the judges, and ordered Vetus to be tried on the usual charge of violated majesty. He represented him as a man of a turbulent spirit, and an accomplice with Rhescuporis at the time, when that Barbarian, having put his nephew Cotys to death, was on the eve of a war with Rome. Vetus fell a sacrifice. He was interdicted from fire and water, with an additional sentence, that he should be confined to some island not contiguous either to Macedonia or Thrace.

Since the partition of the latter kingdom between Rhæmetalces and the sons of Cotys, to whom Trebellienus Rufus was appointed guardian, that country continued in a state of tumult and hostility to Rome. The people saw, with minds exasperated, the grievances inflicted on the natives, and, having no prospect of redress, accused Trebellienus no less than Rhæmetalces. In the same juncture the Cælaletans, the Odrysæans, Dians, and other adjacent states, in one general revolt, had recourse to arms. They took the field under their own respective chiefs, men of no consideration, and all by their meanness and incapacity reduced to one common level. Hence no concerted plan, no spirit of union. By one party the country was laid waste; another passed over Mount Hæmus, with a design to draw distant nations into their confederacy; while the most numerous and best disciplined troops sat down before Philippopolis (a city founded by Philip of Macedon), and there held Rhæmetalces closely besieged.

XXXIX. ON the first intelligence of this revolt, Publius Velleius (*a*), who commanded an army in the neighbourhood, sent a detachment of horse and light infantry in pursuit of the
infur-

insurgents, who spread themselves over the country, either with a view to plunder, or to reinforce their numbers. He himself marched in force to raise the siege. He was successful in every quarter: the freebooters were put to the sword; and dissensions breaking out among the besiegers, Rhæmetalces made a sally in the moment when the Roman army came up to his relief. The Barbarians abandoned the place. Of these events, however prosperous, there is no room to speak in the pomp of military language: a rabble of savages without discipline, and almost without weapons, cannot be called an army; nor was that a battle, where the enemy was cut to pieces, without the effusion of Roman blood.

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XL. In the course of the same year a rebellion broke out among the cities of Gaul, occasioned by the load of debt that oppressed the common people. The principal leaders of the revolt were Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir; the former a man of weight among the Treviri, and the latter among the Æduans. They were both of illustrious birth. Their ancestors had deserved well of the Romans, and, for their services, received the freedom of the city, at a time when that privilege was rare, and the reward of merit only. By these incendiaries secret meetings were held; the fierce and daring were drawn into the league, together with such as languished in poverty, or, being conscious of their crimes, had nothing left but to grow desperate in guilt. Florus undertook to kindle the flame of rebellion in Belgia; and Sacrovir to rouse the neighbouring Gauls. The plan thus settled, they caballed in private, held frequent meetings, and left no topic untouched that could inflame the minds of the people. "Tributes," they said, "were levied with unabating rigour; "usurious interest oppressed the poor, and their haughty masters "continued to lord it over them with pride and arrogance.
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“ By the murder of Germanicus, disaffection was diffused among
 “ the legions, and the opportunity to strike the blow for liberty
 “ was now arrived. Reflect on the numbers we can bring into
 “ the field: remember the impoverished state of Italy. At Rome
 “ every warlike principle is extinguished. The strength of their
 “ armies is mouldered away. They have no national strength,
 “ but depend altogether on foreign nations to fight their battles.”

XLI. A GENERAL spirit of revolt prevailed in every part of Gaul. Scarce a city was free from commotion. The flame blazed out among the Andecavians and the people of Tours; but by the diligence of Acilius Aviola (*a*), who marched from Lyons at the head of a cohort, the insurgents in the former province were reduced to obedience. The same commander, with a legionary force, detached by Vifellius Varro, from the Lower Germany, marched into the territory of Tours, and quelled the insurrection. In this expedition some of the principal chiefs in Gaul joined the Roman army, not with zeal for the cause, but pretending friendship, in order, with surer effect, to be traitors in the end. Even Sacrovir fought with the Romans: he was seen in the heat of action with his head uncovered, in order, as he gave out, to signalize his courage and fidelity; but in truth, as was afterwards collected from the prisoners, to avoid being aimed at by the darts of his countrymen. An account of these disturbances was transmitted to Tiberius. He doubted the intelligence, and by his indecision prolonged the war.

XLII. JULIUS FLORUS, in the mean time, continued to exert his most vigorous efforts. A regiment of horse, raised formerly among the Treviri, but trained to the Roman discipline, happened to be quartered at Treves. He tampered with those troops,

troops, in hopes of beginning the war by a general massacre of the Roman merchants. A small number listened to his advice, but the rest continued in their duty. Florus was followed by a rabble of debtors, and a number of his own dependants. He marched towards the forest of Arden (*a*), but was intercepted by the legions detached by Vifellius and Caius Silius from the two armies on the Rhine. A party of those troops was ordered forward under the command of Julius Indus, a native of Treves, who was then at variance with Florus, and, for that reason, burned with impatience to encounter his enemy. He gave battle to the rebels, and over an ill-appointed and undisciplined multitude gained a complete victory. Florus lay for some time concealed in lurking-places; but at length finding himself unable to elude the search of the Roman soldiers, and seeing the defiles and passes guarded on every side, he died by his own sword. The people of Treves, after this event, returned to their duty.

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XLIII. THE Ædian commotions were not so easily quelled. The state was rich and powerful, and the force necessary to subdue the insurrection lay at a considerable distance. Sacrovir strained every nerve to support his cause. He seized the city of Augustodunum, the capital of the Æduans, and took into his custody the flower of the young nobility, who resorted thither from all parts of Gaul, as to a school of science and liberal education. By detaining those pledges, he hoped to attach to his interest their parents and relations. He supplied the young men with arms, which had been prepared with secrecy by his directions. His numbers amounted to no less than forty thousand, a fifth part of which were armed after the manner of the legions; the rest carried hunting-poles, knives, and other instruments of the chase. He had, besides, pressed into his service a body of slaves reared up to the trade of gladiators, and, accord-

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ing to the custom of the country, clad with an entire plate of iron. In the language of Gaul they were called CRUPELLARIANS. Their armour was impenetrable to the stroke of the enemy, but at the same time rendered the men too unwieldy for the attack. The adjoining provinces had not taken up arms; but a number of individuals caught the infection, and joined the rebel army. Sacrovir gained a further advantage from the jealousies subsisting between the Roman generals (*a*). Each claimed to himself the conduct of the war; and the dispute continued till Varro, finding himself impaired by age, gave up the point to Silius, who was then in the vigour of his days.

XLIV. MEANWHILE a report prevailed at Rome, that not only the Æduans and the Treviri, but several other cities of Gaul, to the number of sixty-four, had thrown off the yoke. Germany, it was added, had joined the league; and Spain was wavering. The rumour, as usually happens, was magnified by the credulity of the populace. Good men felt for their country: the greater part, detesting the present system, and wishing for nothing so much as a change, enjoyed the confusion, and triumphed in the common danger. Invektive did not spare Tiberius. “In a difficult and alarming crisis, he was busy in settling
“the forms of some new prosecution. Did he mean to proceed
“by way of information against Julius Sacrovir? Was that
“chieftain to be accused of violated majesty? The revolt plainly
“shewed that there still existed men of undaunted valour, who
“were resolved, at the point of the sword, to defy his letters
“written in blood to the senate; and war, with all its dangers,
“was preferable to a sanguinary peace under a despotic tyrant.” Amidst these murmurs of discontent, Tiberius appeared with an unruffled temper, never once changing his look, his place of abode, or his habits of life. Is this to be ascribed to magnanimity?

nimity? or did he know, by secret intelligence, that the whole was either false, or magnified beyond the truth?

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XLV. SILIUS, in the mean time, having sent before him a body of auxiliaries, marched at the head of two legions into the territory of the Sequanians, a people at the extremity of Gaul, bordering on the Æduans, and confederates in the war. He laid waste the country, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Augustodunum. Nothing could equal the ardour of the legions: the standard-bearers with emulation gave every proof of their alacrity; the common foldiers declared, with one voice, that they wanted no repose; the night ought not to be lost in sleep; let them but see the enemy, they asked no more; victory was sure to follow. At the distance of twelve miles from Augustodunum Sacrovir appeared in force. His line of battle was formed on the open plain. The gladiators, in complete armour, were stationed in the centre; his cohorts in the two wings, and his half-armed multitude in the rear. He was himself mounted on a superb horse, attended by a number of chiefs. He rode through the ranks, haranguing his men: he called to mind the glory of their ancestors (*a*), their brave exploits against the Romans, and the eternal honour of succeeding in the cause of liberty. A defeat, he said, would bring with it infamy, and chains, and bondage.

XLVI. THE speech was short, and the foldiers heard it without emotion. The legions advanced in regular order. A band of raw recruits, lately levied in the towns of Gaul, could not sustain a fight so terrible. The faculties of eyes and ears were lost in confusion. By the Romans victory was already anticipated. To exhort them was unnecessary, yet Silius thought proper to inflame their ardour. "The disgrace," he said, "would

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“ be great, if the victorious legions, who had conquered in Ger-
 “ many, were now to consider the Gauls as an equal enemy.
 “ The rebels of Tours have been chastised by a single cohort;
 “ a detachment of the cavalry crushed the insurgents at Treves;
 “ and a handful of this very army gave the Sequanians a total
 “ overthrow. The Æduans are now before you; not an army,
 “ but an effeminate race, abounding in wealth, and enervated by
 “ luxury. Charge with valour, and to pursue the runaways.
 “ will be your only trouble.” This speech was received with
 a general shout. The rebels were soon hemmed in by the ca-
 valry; the front of their line gave way at the first onset of the
 infantry, and the wings were put to flight. The men in iron
 armour still kept their ranks. No impression could be made by
 swords and javelins. The Romans had recourse to their hatchets
 and pickaxes. With these, as if battering a wall, they fell upon
 the enormous load, and crushed both men and armour. Some
 attacked with clubs and pitchforks. The unwieldy and defence-
 less enemy lay on the ground, an inanimate mass, without an
 effort to rise. Sacrovir threw himself into the town of Augusto-
 dunum, but in a short time, fearing to be given up a prisoner,
 withdrew, with his most faithful adherents, to a villa in the
 neighbourhood, where he put an end to his life. His followers,
 having first set fire to the place, turned their swords against
 themselves, and perished in one general carnage.

XLVII. TIBERIUS, at length, thought fit to write to the
 senate on the subject of these commotions. In one and the same
 letter he gave an account of the war begun and ended. He
 neither magnified nor disguised the truth, but in plain terms
 ascribed the whole success to the valour of his officers, and the
 wisdom of his councils. Why he did not go in person, or send
 his son Drusus, the same letter explained his reasons: “ The
 “ extent

“ extent and majesty of the empire claimed his utmost care.
 “ It was not for the dignity of the prince, on the revolt of one
 “ or two cities, to relinquish the feat of government. But now,
 “ since he could not be supposed to be under any kind of alarm,
 “ it was his intention to shew himself to the provinces, in order,
 “ by his presence, to allay the ferment, and restore the public
 “ tranquillity.” Vows for his return, and solemn festivals, with
 other usual ceremonies, were decreed by the senate. Dolabella,
 intending to display his genius in the trade of flattery, succeeded
 so far as to shew his meanness and absurdity. He proposed that
 the emperor, on his return from Campania, should enter the city
 with the splendour of an ovation. This occasioned a letter to the
 senate from Tiberius, wherein he observed, “ that after conquer-
 “ ing fierce and warlike nations, and having in his youth received
 “ and declined triumphal honours, he was not such a novice
 “ to glory as to desire, in the evening of his days, the vain parade
 “ of a public entry, for an excursion that was little more than a
 “ party of pleasure to the suburbs of Rome.”

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XLVIII. ABOUT this time Tiberius wrote to the senate, re-
 questing that a public funeral might be decreed to Sulpicius
 Quirinius (*a*); a man no way related to the ancient patrician fa-
 mily of the Sulpicii. He was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town :
 he distinguished himself by his military services, had considerable
 talents for business, and was raised by Augustus to the honour
 of the consulship. Having afterwards stormed and taken the
 strong holds of the Homonadenians in Cilicia, he obtained tri-
 umphal honours. He attended Caius Cæsar in his expedition
 to Armenia, the chief director of his councils, and made use of
 that opportunity to pay his court, with secrecy, to Tiberius, while
 that prince resided in the isle of Rhodes. This anecdote Tibe-
 rius mentioned in his letter; declaring himself, in gracious terms,
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well pleased with the good offices of Quirinius, and, at the same time, reflecting with a degree of acrimony on Marcus Lollius, to whose conduct he imputed the dissensions between himself and Caius Cæsar. But the character of Quirinius was held in no esteem: his unrelenting prosecution of Lepida, already related, was still remembered; and the sordid avarice of the man, even in old age, and in the height of power, left a stain upon his memory.

XLIX. THE year closed with a prosecution of a singular nature. Caius Lutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, was the author of an applauded poem on the death of Germanicus, and for his composition had received a reward from Tiberius. The crime laid to his charge was, that, when Drusus lay ill, he prepared another elegy, from which he hoped, if the young prince died, to derive still greater emolument. With the vanity of a poet Lutorius read his verses at the house of Publius Petronius, in the presence of Vitellia, the mother-in-law of that senator. Several women of distinction were of the party. As soon as the prosecutor opened the heads of his accusation, the confidential friends of the author were struck with terror. The fact was admitted by all, except Vitellia: she had the memory of a liberal-minded woman, and could recollect nothing. Credit, however, was given to the rest of the evidence. Haterius Agrippa, consul elect, was the first to give his opinion: he proposed that the unfortunate poet should suffer death.

L. MANIUS LEPIDUS opposed the motion. He spoke as follows: “ If in our deliberations, conscript fathers, we advert to
“ nothing but the flagitious sentiments, by which Lutorius has
“ discovered the malignity of his heart, and wounded the ear of
“ others, neither the dungeon, nor the rope, nor the torments,
“ which the law ordains for slaves, would be adequate to the enor-
“ mity

“ mity of his guilt. But on the other hand, however great the
 “ depravity of mankind, there are degrees of punishment. The
 “ clemency of the prince interposes often to mitigate the rigour
 “ of the law ; the wisdom of our ancestors has delivered down
 “ to us a system of justice founded in mercy, and you have, on
 “ many occasions, followed their example. If between error in
 “ judgment and malignity of heart a distinction is to be made ;
 “ if words and criminal actions are not to be confounded, the
 “ case before us admits a sentence, which at once will reach the
 “ offence, and leave us no reason to blush either for our modera-
 “ tion or our severity. The complaints of the emperor, when
 “ the guilty, by a voluntary death, have prevented the effect of
 “ his clemency, have been heard by us all. Lutorius lives ; and
 “ should he continue to do so, will the state be in danger ? His
 “ death will neither promote the public interest, nor serve as an
 “ example to others. Productions such as his, the effusions of
 “ a wild and irregular fancy, may well be left to flutter for a
 “ time, and then, like all frivolous things, to be forgotten. No-
 “ thing serious or important is to be expected from him, who be-
 “ trays himself, not in the hearing of men, but in a circle of wo-
 “ men. And yet my voice is against him : let him be condemned
 “ to exile ; let his effects be confiscated ; let fire and water be in-
 “ terdicted. This is my opinion, the same as I should give, had
 “ he been in due form convicted on the law of violated majesty.”

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LI. RUBELLIUS BLANDUS, of consular rank, was the only
 person that assented to the opinion of Lepidus. The rest concurred
 with Agrippa. The poet was hurried away, and strangled in a
 dungeon. Concerning these proceedings Tiberius wrote to the
 senate in his usual style, ambiguous and inexplicable. He com-
 mended the zeal of the fathers, even in a matter of no importance,
 but desired that, for the future, words alone should not be pu-
 nished

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nished with so much precipitation. He praised the humanity of Lepidus, yet found no fault with Agrippa. This produced a decree, by which it was enacted, that no sentence of condemnation should, for the future, be sent to the treasury, till the tenth day after passing it; and, in the interval, execution was to be suspended. The fathers, however, were not to have the power of rejudging their own acts, or revoking their sentence. The appeal was to be to Tiberius, and no time could soften that implacable temper.

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LII. CAIUS SULPICIUS and Decimus Haterius were the next consuls. The year was free from foreign commotions; but at Rome new laws were expected to check the growth of luxury, and that apprehension spread a general alarm. The prodigality (*a*) of the times had risen to the highest pitch. In many articles of expence, and those the heaviest, the real price might be concealed; but the cost of the table was too well understood. The profusion, with which luxury was maintained, could not remain a secret. It was therefore apprehended, that a prince, addicted to the frugality of ancient manners, would endeavour by severe regulations to control the mischief.

The subject was opened in the senate by Caius Bibulus, one of the ædiles: his colleagues joined to support him. They stated that the sumptuary laws were fallen into contempt. The extravagance in furniture and utensils, though prohibited, grew every day more enormous, insomuch that, by moderate penalties, the mischief was not to be cured. The senate, without further debate, referred the whole to the consideration of the emperor. Tiberius weighed every circumstance: he knew that passions, which had taken root, could not be easily weeded out of the heart: he considered how far coercive measures might be a public grievance.

ance. If an unsuccessful attempt gave a victory to vice, the defeat he saw would be a disgrace to government; and the necessity of waging continual war against the characters and fortunes of the most eminent citizens, was what he wished to avoid. After mature deliberation, he sent his thoughts in writing to the senate, in substance as follows:

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LIII. “UPON any other question, conscript fathers, it would
“ perhaps be expedient, that I should attend the debate in person,
“ and, in my place, lay before you what I conceive to be for the
“ advantage of the commonwealth. At present, it may be better
“ that my eyes should not survey the scene. In so mixed an
“ assembly, many, no doubt, by their looks and manner, might
“ be apt to betray a consciousness of their own vicious habits.
“ The attention of the senate would naturally fix upon such
“ men, and I should, of course, be led to watch their behaviour:
“ in that case, the guilty would, as it were, be taken in the fact.
“ Had the ædiles, whose zeal deserves commendation, applied
“ in the first instance to me, I should, perhaps, have thought it
“ advisable to connive at vices that have gathered strength from
“ time, rather than expose to the world the inveteracy of the mis-
“ chief, and the feebleness of legal remedies. Those magistrates,
“ it must be acknowledged, have performed their duty, with a
“ spirit which every civil officer would do well to emulate. As
“ to myself, to remain silent, were a desertion of the public;
“ and to speak out, may be impolitic. The part which I sustain
“ is neither that of ædile, prætor, or consul. From the emperor
“ something more than the minute detail of business is expected.
“ The pre-eminence is painful, while individuals claim the merit
“ of all the good that is done, and, if men transgress, the blame is
“ transferred to the prince. At the expence of one, all are guilty.
“ If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin? and

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“ how am I to restore the simplicity of ancient times? Must I
“ abridge your villas, those vast domains, where tracts of land are
“ laid out for ornament? Must I retrench the number of slaves,
“ so great at present that every family seems a nation in itself?
“ What shall be said of massy heaps of gold and silver? of statues
“ wrought in brass, and an infinite collection of pictures, all
“ indeed highly finished, the perfection of art? How shall we
“ reform the taste for drefs, which, according to the reigning
“ fashion, is so exquisitely nice, that the (*a*) sexes are scarce
“ distinguished? How are we to deal with the peculiar articles
“ of female vanity, and, in particular, with that rage for jewels
“ and precious trinkets, which drains the empire of its wealth,
“ and sends, in exchange for bawbles, the money of the common-
“ wealth to foreign nations, and even to the enemies of Rome?

LIV. “ THAT these abuses are the subject of discussion at every
“ table, and the topic of complaint in all private circles, I am not
“ now to learn. And yet, let a law be made with proper sanc-
“ tions, and the very men, who call for a reform, will be the first
“ to make objections. The public peace, they will say, is disturb-
“ ed; illustrious families are in danger of ruin; and all, without
“ distinction, must live in dread of rigorous enquiries, and the
“ harpies of the law. It is with the body politic as the body
“ natural: in the latter, chronical disorders, in time grown obsti-
“ nate, call for harsh and violent remedies. Just so in the distem-
“ pers of the mind: the heart, sick to the very core with vice,
“ corrupted and corrupting, requires an antidote as strong as the
“ poison that inflames our passions. Many wholesome laws were
“ made by our ancestors, and many by Augustus: the former are
“ grown obsolete; and the latter (to the disgrace of the age)
“ are fallen into contempt, and, by consequence, luxury riots
“ without control. The reason is obvious: while there is no
“ law

“ law in force to prevent abuses, men proceed with caution, that
“ the magnitude of the mischief may not provoke the authority of
“ the legislature; but when positive institutions are found inade-
“ quate, the case is very different: unbridled passions take their
“ course with impunity, and all transgress without fear or shame.

“ Why was frugality the practice of ancient times? Because
“ each individual was a law to himself; because he knew how to
“ moderate his desires; because we were then the inhabitants of a
“ single city. Even Italy, when reduced to subjection, afforded
“ but few incentives to luxury. Foreign victories taught us to
“ dissipate the property of others; and the civil wars made us pro-
“ digal of our own. But after all, is the mischief, which the
“ ædiles make the ground of their complaint, the worst of
“ our grievances? Compare it with other evils, and it vanishes
“ into nothing. Italy stands in need of foreign supplies, and yet
“ no reformer tells us, how much the commonwealth is every
“ day at the mercy of the winds and waves. The produce of
“ colonies is imported to maintain our pride and luxury, to feed
“ the master of the soil, and to supply his slaves with the necessa-
“ ries of life. Should those resources fail, will our groves, our
“ villas, and our spacious pleasure-grounds be sufficient to satisfy
“ our wants? That care is left to the sovereign. Should he neg-
“ lect that essential duty, the commonwealth is lost. With re-
“ gard to other evils, the remedy is in the breast of every indivi-
“ dual. Men of rank may be restrained by principle, the poor
“ by indigence, and the rich by satiety. These are my sentiments.
“ If, notwithstanding, any magistrate should be of opinion that
“ more may be done; if he feels within himself vigour and in-
“ dustry to oppose the torrent; I honour the firmness of his cha-
“ racter, and cheerfully resign to abler hands a great part of my
“ own solicitude. But when he has declaimed against corruption,

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“ if his zeal is to evaporate in a florid speech ; if the violence of
“ party-resentments, which his patriot cares have roused, is to
“ point at me, while the censor of the manners enjoys the fame
“ of his eloquence ; believe me, conscript fathers, I am not more
“ than another ambitious of making enemies. To encounter
“ animosities, for the most part unprovoked, and often unjust, is
“ too much my lot at present ; and yet, for the interest of the
“ community, it is a tax which I am willing to pay. But if I
“ deprecate new hostilities, permit me, with your consent, to
“ avoid all such as may be excited without due consideration, use-
“ less to the state, and to me big with every disadvantage.”

LV. THIS letter being read, the senate released the ædiles from all farther care about the business. Luxury went on with boundless profusion. It began soon after the battle of Actium (*a*), and continued to flourish, for the space of a century, down to the time when Galba attained the imperial dignity. At that period the manners changed, and temperance became the fashion. Of this revolution in the modes of life a short account will not be improper. While the old constitution still subsisted, pomp and splendour were often the ruin of the most illustrious families. To conciliate the favour of the populace, and of the allies of Rome, including even kings and princes, was the great object of a Roman citizen. In proportion to his wealth, his grandeur, and the magnificence of his retinue, his importance rose, and with it the number of his clients. But when the best blood in Rome was spilt by imperial tyranny, and to be eminent was to be marked out for destruction ; it became the interest of the great to lay aside all vain ostentation, and adopt a more humble plan of life. At the same time, a new race of men from the municipal towns, the colonies, and the provinces, found their way, not only to Rome, but even into the senate. The strangers, thus incor-

incorporated, brought with them their natural parsimony. In the course of a long life many of them, either by their own frugality, or a tide of success in their affairs, accumulated immoderate riches; yet even in affluence avarice was their ruling passion. But the cause, which, above all others, contributed to the revival of ancient œconomy, was the character of Vespasian; a man of primitive temperance and rigid austerity. All agreed to imitate so excellent a model. Respect for the prince did more than all the pains and penalties of the law. And yet, it may be true, that in the nature of things there is a principle of rotation, in consequence of which the manners, like the seasons, are subject to periodical changes. Nor is it certain that, in the former ages of the world, every thing was better than in the times that succeeded. The present age has produced, in moral conduct and the liberal arts, a number of bright examples, which posterity will do well to imitate. May the contest with antiquity continue! but let it be a generous emulation for superior virtue; and may that spirit go down to future times!

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LVI. TIBERIUS gained by these proceedings a considerable share of popularity. His moderation, in the business of the intended reform, gave satisfaction to all ranks and conditions. The people saw, with pleasure, the tribe of informers disappointed in their views. In this favourable moment, Tiberius, by letters to the senate, desired that his son Drusus might be invested with the tribunitian dignity. That specious title, importing nothing less than sovereign power, was invented by Augustus, at a time when the name of king or dictator was not only unconstitutional, but universally detested. And yet a new name was wanted to overtop the magistrates and the forms of the constitution. In that power usurped, Marcus Agrippa became his colleague; and, after his death, Tiberius Nero succeeded. By the last promotion, it

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was the policy of Augustus to mark out the line of succession, and thereby check the views of aspiring men. He was sure that Tiberius would act an under part, and, besides, his own name was a tower of strength. Tiberius, in the present juncture, followed the precedent left by Augustus. During the life of Germanicus, he held the balance even between the two young princes, reserving to himself the power of deciding when he should see occasion. In the letter, which opened the matter to the senate, after invoking the gods, and fervently praying, that the measure might be of advantage to the commonwealth, he introduced the character of Drusus, but in a guarded style, never exceeding the bounds of truth. The prince, he said, had a wife and three children, and was then of the age, which he himself had attained (*a*) when raised by Augustus to the same honour. Nor could the favour, now requested, be deemed premature. Drusus had gone through a probation of eight years: the proofs of his merit were, seditions quelled, wars happily terminated, the splendour of a triumph, and two consulships. There was, therefore, no danger that he would be a novice in public business.

LVII. THE senate was not taken by surprise: the emperor's intention had been foreseen, and flattery was ready with her servile strain. Invention, notwithstanding, was at a loss for novelty. Statues were decreed to Tiberius and his son; altars were raised to the gods; temples were built, and triumphal arches erected, with other honours of a similar nature. Marcus Silanus aimed at something new. Willing, at the expence of the consular dignity, to pay a compliment to the princes, he proposed that, in all public and private registers, the year should no longer take its date from the names of the consuls, but from the persons invested with the tribunitian power. Quintus Haterius went still farther: he moved that the decrees of that day should be fixed up in the senate-house

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in letters of gold. His motion was treated with contempt and ridicule. The fathers saw with indignation a superannuated senator, who, on the verge of life, could incur present infamy, without a prospect of future wages.

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LVIII. AMIDST these transactions, the government of Africa was continued to Junius Blæsus. The proconsulship of Asia, happening then to be vacant, was demanded by Servius Maluginensis, the priest of Jupiter. In support of his claim, he contended, “ that the inability of a priest, in his station, to go out
“ of Italy, was a vulgar error. The order, to which he belonged,
“ differed in nothing from that of Mars and Romulus. If the
“ priests of the two last were eligible to foreign governments,
“ whence arose his incapacity? No prohibitory law was ever
“ passed by the people: the books of religious ceremonies are
“ silent on the subject. In particular cases, when the ministers
“ of Jupiter were detained, either by illness or by public business,
“ one of the pontiffs officiated in his place. After the tragical death
“ of Cornelius Merula (*a*), a space of no less than seventy-six
“ years elapsed, without any nomination to the office: did the
“ interests of religion suffer in the mean time? During that whole
“ period, the sacerdotal function was suspended, without preju-
“ dice to the established worship; and why should not his absence
“ be excused during the year of his proconsular government?
“ That some of his predecessors had been restrained by the autho-
“ rity of the chief pontiff, was a fact not to be controverted; but
“ the restraint, in those cases, was the effect of private animosity.
“ At present, by the indulgence of the gods, the chief pontiff is
“ the chief of men; a stranger to all petty jealousies; uninfluenced
“ by the cabals of a party, and superior to the little motives of a
“ private station.”

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LIX. LENTULUS the augur, and several other senators, opposed the motion. A debate ensued, with so much diversity of opinion, that the question was referred to the decision of the supreme pontiff (*a*). Tiberius was not in haste to determine the point. In his letters to the senate, he mentioned nothing but the honours decreed to Drusus on his elevation to the tribunitian power; and those he thought good to modify with certain restrictions. He censured, in direct terms, the resolution proposed by Silanus, and likewise the motion of Haterius, for fixing up the decrees in letters of gold; condemning both as unconstitutional, and repugnant to ancient usage. Letters from Drusus were, at the same time, read in the senate, modest in the style and turn of expression, but, in the general opinion, denoting pride and arrogance. “Rome,” they said, “was reduced to an humble condition, when a young man, raised to the highest dignity, declines to return thanks to the gods in their own temples; when he disdains to honour the senate with his presence, and refuses to attend the usual auspices in his native city. Was it war that detained him? or did he dread the inconvenience of a long journey, when he was only visiting the coast of Campania, or pursuing his pleasures on the lakes? This is the education of him, who is to be the future master of the Roman world! He is tutored in the political school of his father! Tiberius may have his reasons for withdrawing himself from the public eye: the infirmities of age, and the labours of his life, afford a colourable pretext; but for Drusus what apology can be made? Pride, rank pride, is his only motive.”

LX. To strengthen the foundations of his own power was the constant policy of Tiberius. Intent on that object, he still preserved the forms of the constitution, and amused the senate with a phan-

a phantom of liberty. All petitions from the provinces were referred to that assembly. About this time, the right of having sanctuaries (*a*), and of multiplying the number without limitation, was assumed by all the cities of Greece. The temples in that country were crowded by the most abandoned slaves; debtors screened themselves from their creditors, and criminals fled from justice. The magistrates were no longer able to controul a seditious populace, who carried their crimes, under a mask of piety, to the altar of their gods. An order was therefore made, that the several cities should send their deputies to Rome, with a state of their respective claims. Some places, finding their pretensions brought to the test, thought proper to decline the enquiry. The rights of others were founded on traditional superstition; and superstition was not willing to renounce her errors. Some of the cities relied on the merit of their ancestors in the service of Rome. The business came at length to a hearing. A day more august and splendid cannot be figured to the imagination. We now behold a Roman senate sitting in judgment on the grants of the old republic; discussing the treaties and conventions of confederate nations; deliberating on the acts of kings, while kings were able to make a stand against the power of Rome; and, above all, reviewing the various systems of religion, which had been for ages established in the belief of mankind. These were the important subjects; and, to give still greater dignity to the scene, the senate met, as was the practice in good times, with authority to enquire, and liberty to determine.

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LXI. THE case of the Ephesians was the first brought forward. It was stated in their behalf, that Diana and Apollo were not, as generally supposed, born in the isle of Delos, but in the Ortygian Grove, on the banks of the river Cenchris, which flows within the territories of Ephesus. In that sacred recess, Latona, taking

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shelter under an olive-tree, was delivered of those two deities. The tree was still to be seen in a flourishing state, and the grove became a consecrated spot. It was there that Apollo, after having slain the Cyclops, found a retreat from the vengeance of Jupiter; it was there that Bacchus, after his victories, gave a free pardon to such of the Amazons as fled for protection to the altar; and it was there that Hercules, having conquered Lydia, established a temple, with rites and ceremonies, which neither the Persian kings, nor the Macedonian conqueror, presumed to violate. The Romans at all times paid the strictest regard to the sanctity of the place.

LXII. THE Magnesians were the next in order. They relied on the ordinances of Lucius Scipio (*a*), confirmed and ratified by Lucius Sylla; the former victorious over Antiochus, and the latter over Mithridates. In the wars which were waged under their conduct, the Magnesians adhered with fidelity to the cause of Rome; and, to reward their services, the temple of Diana Leucophrynè was, by those commanders, declared a sanctuary. The people of Aphrodisium, and also of Stratonice, produced a decree of Cæsar the dictator, and another of Augustus, commemorating the zeal, with which those states withstood the Parthian invasion, and preserved to the last their attachment to the interest of Rome. The Aphrodisians claimed the temple of Venus; the Stratoniceans worshipped Jupiter and Diana Trivia. The city of Hierocæsarea deduced their ceremonies from remote antiquity, alleging that they had for ages adored a Persian Diana, in a temple consecrated by Cyrus (*b*). Several orders made by Perpenna (*c*), by Isauricus, and other Roman generals, were also cited, whereby it appeared that those sanctuaries, with a precinct two miles round, were declared holy ground. The inhabitants of Cyprus claimed three sanctuaries; the first and most ancient,
dedicated

dedicated by Aerias (*d*) to the Paphian Venus; the second, by Amathus, the son of Aerias, in honour of the Amathusian Venus; and the third, to the Salaminian Jove, by Teucer, the son of Telamon, when that hero was obliged to fly from the rage of his father.

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LXIII. SEVERAL other cities appeared by their deputies; but the senate, weary of the number, and of the party-spirit, with which different places were espoused, came to a resolution, to refer the whole to the consuls, and wait their report on the merits of each distinctive case. The consuls went through the enquiry. Besides the temples already mentioned, they found at Pergamos the sanctuary of Æsculapius, confirmed by authentic proof. The titles of other places, being all deduced from ages too remote, were lost in the darkness of antiquity. In this number was the oracle of Apollo, by which it was pretended, that the people of Smyrna were commanded to build a temple to Venus Stratonice (*a*); and another of the same god, directing a temple and a statue to Neptune, in the isle of Tenos. The Sardians, and the people of Miletus, were content with a more modern date. The former relied on the privileges granted by Alexander; and the latter, on the authority of Darius. Diana was the tutelar deity in one of those cities, and Apollo in the other. The statue of Augustus was held to be a sanctuary by the inhabitants of Crete. Several decrees were passed, with due attention to the religious tenets of the people, yet limiting the number of sanctuaries. These regulations were ordered to be engraved in brass, and fixed up in the respective temples, as lasting monuments, to ascertain the rights now established, and prevent the future claims of national pride, or blind superstition.

LXIV. ABOUT this time a fit of illness threatened the life of
G g 2 Livia.

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Livia. Her danger was so alarming, that it occasioned the emperor's return to Rome. Hitherto the mother and son had lived on terms of mutual regard, or, at worst, with hatred well disguised. Livia, not long before, had raised a statue to Augustus, near the theatre of Marcellus. In the votive inscription her own name preceded that of the emperor. To the jealous temper of Tiberius this was an offence against the imperial dignity. His resentment, however, was suppressed, and, for that reason, was thought to have sunk the deeper. The senate proceeded to order supplications for the recovery of Livia, with solemn games on the occasion; in which the pontiffs, the augurs, the college of fifteen, with that of the septemvirs, and the sodality of Augustan priests, were to conduct the ceremonies. Lucius Apronius moved that the (*a*) heralds at arms should likewise officiate. Tiberius opposed the motion. It proceeded, he said, on a mistaken principle. He mentioned the distinct functions of the several orders of the priesthood, and made it clear, from ancient precedents, that the heralds had never been admitted to that participation of honour. The fraternity of Augustan priests was called forth with good reason, since that order belonged, in a peculiar manner, to the family, for which public vows were to be offered.

LXV. To give, in detail, the several motions and resolutions of the time, is not within the plan of this work. And yet, when virtue and fair integrity do honour to the heart, or when a slavish spirit brands the character, in either case, it is my intention to select the particular instances. In this, I apprehend, consists the chief part of the historian's duty. It is his to rejudge the conduct of men, that generous actions may be snatched from oblivion, and that the author of pernicious counsels, and the perpetrator of evil deeds, may see, beforehand, the infamy that awaits them at the tribunal of posterity. In general, a black and shameful period

period lies before me. The age was sunk to the lowest depth of sordid adulation; inasmuch that not only the most illustrious citizens, in order to secure their pre-eminence, were obliged to crouch and bend the knee, but men of consular and prætorian rank, and the whole body of the senate (*a*), tried with emulation which should be the most obsequious slave. We are informed by tradition, that Tiberius, as often as he went from the senate-house, was used to say in Greek, "Devoted men! how they rush headlong into bondage!" Even he, the enemy of civil liberty, was disgusted with adulation: he played the tyrant, and despised the voluntary slave.

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LXVI. FROM acts of base compliance, the next step of degenerate men was to deeds of horror. Caius Silanus, proconsul of Asia, was accused of rapine and extortion by the people of the province. The conduct of the cause was undertaken by Mamercus Scaurus, of consular rank; by Junius Otho, at that time prætor; and Brutidius Niger, one of the ædiles. The complaint was aggravated by an additional charge of irreverence to the divinity of Augustus, and disaffection to Tiberius. Mamercus affected to grace himself by citing the bright examples of a former day (*a*): Scipio Africanus, he observed, prosecuted Lucius Cotta; Cato the censor appeared against Servius Galba, and Marcus Scaurus against Publius Rutilius; as if those great and excellent men had instituted prosecutions for constructive crimes like the present; as if Scaurus, the grandfather of the prosecutor, had descended to so vile an office. It was reserved for Mamercus to degenerate into an informer, and tarnish the lustre of his ancestors. Junius Otho, another prosecutor, had been by profession the teacher of a school (*b*). Raised from that obscurity by the patronage of Sejanus, he obtained a seat in the senate, and hoped by flagitious deeds to efface the mean-
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ness of his origin. Brutidius was a different character. Adorned with liberal accomplishments, and formed for great things, he was sure of reaching the first honours of the state, had he been willing to walk in the paths of virtue. His impatience ruined him. Eager to outstrip his equals, and then to rise over his superiors, he enlarged his views, and began to soar above his most flattering hopes: but his ambition led him to the precipice from which good men have often fallen, when, not content with slow, but sure, success, they have hurried on with too much ardour, and ended their career in ruin.

LXVII. GELLIUS POPLICOLA, who had been quæstor to Silanus, and Marcus Paconius, his lieutenant, listed on the side of the prosecution. Silanus, beyond all doubt, was guilty both of rapine and oppression; but in his case a number of circumstances, dangerous even to innocence, conspired against him. Besides the persons already mentioned, the most able orators of Asia, men who were chosen on account of their eloquence, united their strength. Against that powerful combination, Silanus stood alone, obliged, without any powers of oratory, to make his own defence with fear and trembling; a situation that might disarm the noblest talents. Tiberius helped to increase his difficulties. With a stern tone of voice, and a contracted brow, he pressed the defendant with sudden questions, never suffering him to pause a moment, either to repel or elude the charge. Silanus was obliged to admit several points, rather than seem to refute or baffle the enquiry of the emperor. His very slaves, to make them competent witnesses, were sold by auction to the public officer; and, to make destruction sure, Tiberius added the crime of violated majesty, that none of the prisoner's family or friends might presume to assist in the defence. Silanus desired an adjournment of a few days. In that interval, abandoning

all his hopes, he sent a memorial to Tiberius, in a style sufficiently humble, but still with the spirit of a man, who felt himself oppressed, and dared to speak the language of reproach.

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LXVIII. TIBERIUS remained inflexible: but, to give the colour of precedent to his final sentence, he ordered the proceedings against Volefus Messala (*a*) (who had also been proconsul of Asia), with the record of Augustus, and the decree made on that occasion, to be read. He then collected the votes, beginning with Lucius Piso. That senator, after some flourishes in praise of the emperor's clemency, concluded, that Silanus should be interdicted from fire and water, and banished to the isle of Gyarus (*b*). The fathers concurred in the same opinion, when Cneius Lentulus proposed, by way of mitigation, that the estate which descended to Silanus from his mother, should not be included in the general forfeiture, but vested in the grandson. Tiberius agreed to the amendment. The business seemed to be at an end, when Cornelius Dolabella rose to shew, that his fervile spirit had not deserted him. He launched out into a sharp invective against the morals of Silanus, grafting on it a motion, that no man of dissolute manners should be eligible to the government of provinces; and of this incapacity the emperor should be the sole judge. When a crime is committed, "the law takes cognizance of it, and inflicts the punishment. But a law to prevent the offence, would be at once: an act of mercy to bad men, and a blessing to the provinces."

LXIX. TIBERIUS spoke in reply: "To the reports," he said, "which were current to the disadvantage of Silanus, he was no stranger. But laws ought to have a better foundation than public rumour. The governors of provinces had often disappointed the hopes, and sometimes the fears of mankind.

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“ By important scenes of action the powers of the mind are
 “ roused; the heart expands to meet the occasion; while, on
 “ the other hand, feeble spirits shrink from a great opportunity,
 “ and grow less by elevation. The prince can never be fully
 “ informed; and it is not fit that he should see with the eyes of
 “ others. The arts of ambitious rivals may deceive him. In
 “ human affairs nothing can be foreseen with certainty, and
 “ without facts, laws can have no operation. Till men have
 “ acted, they cannot be judged. It was the wisdom of our
 “ ancestors to keep the sword of justice in the scabbard, till
 “ actual offences drew it forth. In a system so just in itself,
 “ and so long established, innovations ought not to be rashly
 “ made. The cares of government are a burthen to the sove-
 “ reign, and his prerogative wants no enlargement. Extend
 “ his authority, and you abridge the rights of the subject. When
 “ the laws in being are sufficient, there is no occasion to resort
 “ to the will of the prince.”

This was, no doubt, a constitutional speech. From a man little studious of popularity, it was received with universal approbation. Tiberius did not stop here: when his own private resentment was not provoked, he knew that moderation was the best policy: with that view he thought proper to add, that Gyarus was a dreary island, uncultivated, and inhospitable. In honour, therefore, of the Junian family, and from motives of lenity to a man, who was a member of the senate, he proposed to change the place of banishment to the isle of Cythera: and this, he said, was the request of Torquata, sister to Silanus, and a vestal virgin of distinguished sanctity. The fathers complied, and a decree was passed accordingly.

LXX. THE Cyrenians presented a charge of rapine against

Cæsius Cordus. Ancharius Priscus conducted the prosecution, and sentence of condemnation was pronounced. Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, who had melted down a silver statue of the emperor, and converted it to domestic uses, was accused on the law of majesty. Tiberius stopt the proceedings. Against this act of lenity Ateius Capito (*a*) protested openly; contending, with an air of ancient liberty, that “the right of the senate, to hear and determine, ought not to be retrenched; especially when a crime of that magnitude called for vindictive justice. The prince, in his own case, might be slow to resent; but let him not be generous at the expence of the public.” This language, blunt as it was, gave no offence to Tiberius: he saw the drift of the speech, and, disregarding the tone with which it was uttered, persisted in his resolution. Capito brought disgrace on his name. Accomplished as he was in the science of laws both human and divine, he possessed, besides, a number of virtues that adorned his private character; but by this act of servile flattery he sullied the lustre of a distinguished name.

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LXXI. A QUESTION that concerned a point of religion was the next subject of debate. The Roman knights had vowed a statue, for the recovery of Livia, to FORTUNE THE EQUESTRIAN. In what temple this should be placed was the doubt. At Rome there were various structures sacred to the goddesses, but none under that specific title. Upon enquiry it was found that there was at Antium (*a*) a temple with that particular denomination; and it being considered that the whole system of rites and ceremonies, and the several temples and images of the gods throughout Italy, were subject to the supreme authority of Rome, it was resolved that the votive present should be placed at Antium. This being a point of religious ceremony, Tiberius took the opportunity to determine the question, which

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had been for some time in suspense, concerning Servius Maluginensis, the priest of Jupiter. He produced and read a decree of the pontifical college, whereby it appeared that the priest of Jupiter, when his health required it, or when he obtained a dispensation from the supreme pontiff, might absent himself from the duties of his function two nights at most; provided it was not during the public ceremonies, nor more than twice in the course of the year. From this regulation, made by Augustus, it was evident that a year's absence, and of course a proconsular government, was incompatible with the sacerdotal function. The authority of Lucius Metellus (*b*), who, when high pontiff, would not suffer Aulus Posthumius, a priest of Jupiter, to depart from Rome, was also cited. It followed, that the province of Asia could not be granted to Maluginensis. It fell to the lot of the person of consular rank, who stood next in seniority.

LXXII. DURING these transactions, Marcus Lepidus petitioned the senate for leave to repair and decorate, at his own expence, the basilick of Paulus (*a*), that noble monument of the Æmilian family. The display of private munificence in public works, which embellished the city, was not yet fallen into disuse. In the reign of Augustus, without any objection from that emperor, Taurus (*b*), Philippus, and Balbus, with the spoils which they had taken from the enemy, or with the superfluity of their own immoderate wealth, added greatly to the ornament of Rome, and, by consequence, to the honour of their families. Encouraged by this example, but with a fortune much inferior, Lepidus revived the glory of his ancestors. The Theatre of Pompey had been destroyed by fire; and, the remaining branches of the family not being equal to the expence of so great a structure, Tiberius declared his intention to build a new edifice, with the original name. He congratulated the senate, that

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the damage occasioned by the late fire, was confined to that single building. For this, he said, they were obliged to the vigilance of Sejanus. The senate decreed a statue (*c*) to be placed in the Theatre of Pompey, in honour of the favourite. In a short time afterwards, when triumphal ornaments were granted to Junius Blæsus, the proconsul of Africa, Tiberius made no scruple to declare, that his motive for bestowing that high reward, was to pay a compliment to Sejanus, as the proconsul was his uncle.

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LXXIII. BLÆSUS, however, had fairly earned his honours. Tacfarinas, often repulsed, was never defeated. He found resources in the interior parts of Africa, and returned to the conflict with new vigour. He had at length the arrogance to send an embassy to Tiberius, demanding lands for himself and his army, or nothing should make an end of the war. Tiberius, it is said, was upon no occasion so little master of himself. “It was an
“insult to the imperial majesty, and the Roman name. Shall
“a deserter, a wandering vagabond, presume to treat on equal
“terms? Even Spartacus (*a*), though he had defeated consular
“armies, and spread desolation with sword and fire through the
“realms of Italy, was not allowed to negotiate terms of peace,
“though the commonwealth, at that time, was well nigh ex-
“hausted by Sertorius (*b*), and the Mithridatic war. Even
“then, no compromise was admitted; the dignity of the state
“was saved. And shall a flourishing empire descend so low as
“to compound with Tacfarinas, and, by granting lands, become
“the purchaser of peace at the hands of a freebooter and a
“robber?” Stung by these reflections, Tiberius ordered Blæsus to seduce the followers of Tacfarinas by promises of a free pardon to all, who should lay down their arms; but as to their

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chief, he must strain every nerve to secure the person of that daring adventurer.

LXXIV. THE promised amnesty reduced the numbers of the enemy; and Blæsus, adopting a new mode of war, turned the arts of the wily Numidian against himself. Unequal to the legions in a pitched battle, Tacfarinas depended altogether upon the rapidity of his motions: he divided his men into small parties; he shewed himself in sudden incursions, fled before a regular force, and knew where to lie in ambush. The Romans accordingly marched in three columns, by as many different routes. In the quarter where the Africans ravaged the country near Leptis, and then fled for shelter to the Garamantes, Cornelius Scipio, the proconsul's lieutenant, advanced with his division. In another quarter, where Cirta lay exposed to the Barbarians, the younger Blæsus, the proconsul's son, commanded a second detachment. In the intermediate part of the country, the commander in chief marched at the head of a chosen body of troops. At all convenient places he threw up entrenchments, and appointed garrisons, securing every station by a regular chain of posts.

The Barbarians found themselves counteracted on every side. Wherever they turned, the Romans were at hand, in front, in flank, and in the rear. Numbers were surrounded, and either put to the sword, or taken prisoners. To spread the alarm, the Roman army was again subdivided into smaller parties, under the command of centurions of approved valour and experience. Nor was the campaign closed, as usual, at the end of the summer. Instead of retiring to winter-quarters in the old provinces, Blæsus kept the field; he increased the number of his

his posts and garrisons, and sent out detachments, lightly armed, with guides acquainted with the course of the country. Tacfarinas could no longer stand at bay. He shifted his huts (*a*), and wandered from place to place. At length his brother was taken prisoner, and Blæsus thought it time to close the campaign. His retreat was sudden and premature. The province was still open to incursions; and the flame of war, though suppressed, was not extinguished. Tiberius, however, considered the enemy as completely vanquished. Besides the honours already granted to Blæsus, he ordered that the legions should salute him by the title of IMPERATOR, according to the ancient custom of the Roman armies, in the pride of victory flushed with the generous ardour of warlike spirits. In the time of the republic, this was a frequent custom, inasmuch that several, at the same time, without pre-eminence or distinction, enjoyed that military honour. It was often allowed by Augustus, and now by Tiberius, for the last time. With him the practice ceased altogether (*b*).

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LXXV. ROME, in the course of this year, lost two illustrious citizens: the first was Asinius Saloninus (*a*), grandson both to Marcus Agrippa and Asinius Pollio, half-brother to Drusus, and, besides, the intended husband of the emperor's grand-daughter. The second was Ateius Capito (*b*), already mentioned; a man for his abilities and his knowledge of the laws, of the first eminence in the state. From his birth he derived no advantage. His grandfather was a centurion under Sylla; his father rose to the rank of prætor. Capito was, with rapid speed, advanced by Augustus to the consular dignity, and, by that promotion, placed above his competitor, Antistius Labeo, who had grown into celebrity by his talents and his skill in jurisprudence. It was the peculiar felicity of that age to see flourishing together those two illustrious rivals, who, in peaceable times, were the ornaments of their

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their country. The fame of Labeo (*c*) rose on the surest foundation; he was a strenuous asserter of civil liberty, and for that reason the favourite of the people. Capito knew his approaches to the great, and by his flexibility became a favourite at the court of Augustus. Labeo was not suffered to rise above the prætorian rank; but that act of injustice raised his popularity: while, on the other hand, Capito obtained the consulship, and with it the public hatred.

LXXVI. IN this year also, the sixty-fourth (*a*) from the battle of Philippi, Junia, niece to Cato, sister of Brutus, and the widow of Cassius, paid her debt to nature. Her will engrossed the public conversation. Possessed of immoderate riches, she left marks of her regard to almost all the eminent men at Rome, without mention of Tiberius. The omission gave no umbrage to the emperor. He considered it as the exercise of a civil right, and not only suffered her funeral panegyric to be spoken from the rostrum, but allowed the last ceremonies to be performed with the usual pomp and magnificence. In the procession were seen the images of the most illustrious families, in number not less than twenty; the Manlii, the Quintii, and others of equal rank. Those of Brutus and Cassius (*b*) were not displayed; but for that reason they were present to every imagination, and with superior lustre eclipsed the splendor of the day.

THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

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These transactions include six years.

Years of Rome—of Christ	Consuls.
776	23 <i>Caius Asinius Pollio, Caius Antistius Vetus.</i>
777	24 <i>Sergius Cornelius Cethegus, Lucius Visellius Varro.</i>
778	25 <i>Marcus Asinius Agrippa, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.</i>
779	26 { <i>Cornelius Lentulus Gætulicus, Caius Calvisius Sabinus.</i>
780	27 <i>Marcus Licinius Crassus, Lucius Calpurnius Piso.</i>
781	28 <i>Appius Junius Silanus, Publius Silius Nerva.</i>

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B O O K IV.

THE consuls for the year, on which we are now entering, were Caius Asinius, and Caius Antistius. Tiberius had reigned nine years. During that time a state of profound tranquillity prevailed at Rome, and the emperor saw the imperial family flourishing with undiminished lustre. The loss of Germanicus gave him no regret; on the contrary, he reckoned that event among the prosperous issues of his reign. But fortune now began to change the scene, and a train of disasters followed. Tiberius threw off the mask: he harassed the people by acts of cruelty, or, which was equally oppressive, by his authority encouraged the tyranny of others. Of this revolution Ælius Sejanus, commander of the prætorian guards, was the prime and efficient cause.

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cause. The power and influence of that minister have been already mentioned. I shall here give the origin of the man, the features of his character, and the flagitious arts, by which he aspired to the supreme power.

He was born at Vulfinii (*a*), the son of Seius Strabo (*b*), a Roman knight. He attached himself, in his early youth, to Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus. Even at that time he laboured under a suspicion of having prostituted his person to the infamous passions of Apicius (*c*), a rich and prodigal voluptuary. By various arts he afterwards gained an entire ascendant over the affections of Tiberius, inasmuch, that the temper of that prince, to the rest of mankind dark and inscrutable, became to him alone unclouded, free, and complying. This influence, however, was not the effect of superior ability; since Sejanus, in the end, fell a victim to the policy of that very prince, whom he deceived at first. A phenomenon so very extraordinary can be ascribed to nothing less than the wrath of the gods, incensed against the Roman state. Whether the public suffered most by the elevation (*d*), or the downfall, of that pernicious minister, it is difficult to determine. His frame of body was vigorous, robust, and patient of labour; his spirit, bold and enterprising: in his own conduct a profound dissembler, and to others a sharp and dangerous accuser. With pride that swelled to arrogance, he had the meanness that could fawn and flatter; and, under the outward calm of moderation, he nourished in his heart the most unbounded ambition. Profusion, luxury, and largesses were often his means, but more frequently, application to business, and indefatigable industry; virtues that take the name of vice, when they play an underpart to inordinate passions and the lust of domination (*e*).

II. THE commission over the prætorian bands had been always
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of a limited nature. Sejanus enlarged his powers to a degree unknown before. He had the address to collect into one camp the whole corps of the guards, till that time quartered in various parts of Rome. Being embodied, they received their orders with submission; habit and constant intercourse established a spirit of union, and, knowing their numbers, they grew formidable to their fellow-citizens. The pretext for this measure was, that the soldiery grew wanton in idleness, but, when encamped, they might be drawn forth, with better effect, in any sudden emergence, and, being confined within their entrenchments, at a distance from the vices of the metropolis, they would act with greater vigour whenever required. This plan being settled, Sejanus began his approaches to the affections of the soldiers: by affability and caresses, he glided into favour; he appointed the tribunes and centurions; he endeavoured to seduce the senators by corruption; he promoted his creatures, and, at his pleasure, bestowed honours and provinces. All this was done, not only with the consent, but with the most complying facility on the part of Tiberius, who now declared openly in favour of the minister, styling him, in private conversation, his associate in the cares of government, and using the same language even to the senate. Nor did he stop here: he allowed the images of his favourite to be worshipped in the theatre, in the forum, and, at the head-quarters of the legions, in the place appropriated (*a*) for the standards and the eagles.

III. As yet, however, the imperial family was in a flourishing state. To secure the succession there was no want of Cæsars. The emperor's son (*a*) was in the prime of manhood, and his grandsons in the flower of youth. These were obstacles to the views of Sejanus. To assail them with open force, were big with danger; and fraud requires delay, and intervals of guilt. He resolved to work by stratagem. Drusus, against whom Sejanus

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nus was inflamed by recent provocations, was marked out as the first victim. It happened that Drusus, impatient of a rival, and by nature fierce, raised his hand, in some sudden dispute, against Sejanus; and that haughty minister, advancing forward, received a blow on the face. Stung with indignation, he thought no expedient so sure, as the gaining of the younger Livia (*b*), the wife of Drusus, to his interest. The princess was sister to Germanicus; and though, in her younger days, she had no elegance either of shape or feature, she was now grown up in the most perfect form of regular beauty. Sejanus made his advances with the ardour of a lover. Having triumphed over her honour, he found another step in guilt no difficult matter. A woman, who has sacrificed her virtue, soon resigns every other principle. Engaged in a course of adultery, she was led by degrees to embrace the project of murdering her husband, in order to marry her paramour, and mount with him to the imperial dignity.

In this manner a woman of illustrious rank, the niece of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, and the mother of children by Drusus, disgraced herself, her ancestors, and her posterity, by a vile connection with an adulterer from a municipal town, renouncing the honours which she possessed, for the uncertain prospect of flagitious grandeur. Eudemus (*c*), the confidential friend and physician of the faithless wife, was drawn into the conspiracy. Under colour of his profession, this man had easy access to Livia. Sejanus lifted him into his service; and that the harmony between himself and the adulterers might be undisturbed by jealousy, he repudiated his wife Apicata, by whom he had three children. But still the magnitude of the crime filled their minds with terror: they fluctuated between opposite counsels; they resolved, they hesitated; delay, and doubt, and confusion followed.

IV. IN the beginning of this year, Drusus, the second son of Germanicus, put on the manly robe (*a*). The honours, which had been decreed to his brother Nero, were renewed by a vote of the fathers. Tiberius, in a speech upon the occasion, commended the tender regard with which his son protected the children of Germanicus. The truth is, Drusus (though in high stations and among rivals sincerity is seldom found) had acquitted himself towards his nephews, with all decent attention, at least without hostility. Amidst these transactions, the old project of visiting the provinces, often intimated, but never in earnest, was revived by Tiberius. For this expedition the ostensible reasons were, the number of veterans entitled to their dismissal from the service, and the necessity of recruiting the army with effective men. Of such as voluntarily offered, the number he said was small, and even of those the greatest part were a set of distressed and profligate vagabonds, destitute of courage, and strangers to military discipline. He added a list of the Roman legions, specifying the provinces where they were stationed. A review of that estimate will not be useless, or unacceptable, since it will exhibit the national strength at that period, the kings in alliance with Rome, and the narrow limits (*b*) of the empire, compared with the extent, to which they have been since enlarged.

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V. IN the seas (*a*) that on each side wash the coast of Italy, two fleets were stationed; one at Misenum, the other at Ravenna. The maritime parts of Gaul, adjacent to Italy, were guarded by the large galleys, which were taken at the battle of Actium, and sent by Augustus to Forojulium, well provided with able seamen. But the chief strength of the empire was on the Rhine (*b*), consisting of eight legions, to bridle at once the Germans and the Gauls. Spain, lately subdued, was held in subjection by three legions. Juba (*c*) reigned in Mauritania, deriving his title from
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the favour of Rome. The rest of Africa was kept in awe by two legions. A like number served in Egypt. In that vast extent of country, which stretches from Syria to the Euphrates, bordering on the confines of Iberia, Albania, and other states under the protection of the Roman arms, four legions maintained the rights of the empire. Thrace was governed by Rhœmetalces (*d*) and the sons of Cotys. The banks of the Danube were secured by four legions, two in Pannonia, and two in Mæsia. Two more were stationed in Dalmatia, in a situation, if a war broke out at their back, to support the other legions; or, if a sudden emergence required their presence, ready to advance by rapid marches into Italy. Rome at the same time had her own peculiar forces, namely, three city cohorts (*e*) and nine of the prætorian bands, raised for the most part in Etruria, Umbria (*f*), ancient Latium, and the colonies of the old republic. To this national strength must be added the naval armaments of the allies, placed at proper stations (*g*), together with their infantry and cavalry, forming, in the whole, a body of troops, not inferior in number to the Roman army. But of the foreign auxiliaries it is impossible to speak with precision. They were shifted from place to place, with numbers now augmented, and now reduced, as occasion required; and, by consequence, an accurate estimate cannot be expected.

VI. To this survey of the empire if we add a view of the constitution, and the manner in which the government was administered by Tiberius, from the beginning of his reign to the present year, the fatal æra of tyranny and oppression, the enquiry will not be foreign to our purpose. In the first place, not only the affairs of state, but all questions of importance between the citizens of Rome, were referred to the wisdom of the senate. The leading members of that assembly claimed and exercised full freedom of debate; and when they deviated into flattery, the prince was sure

sure to reject the nauseous strain. In dispensing the honours of government, he had an eye to nobility of birth, to personal merit, and to talents as well civil as military. His choice, it was generally agreed, was made with judgment. The consuls and the prætors enjoyed the ancient honours of their rank and dignity. The subordinate magistrates exercised their functions without controul. The laws, if we except those of violated majesty (*a*), flowed in their regular channel. The tributes and duties, whether of corn or money, were managed by commissioners chosen (*b*) from the Roman knights. The revenues appropriated to the prince were conducted by men of distinguished probity, and frequently by such, as were known to Tiberius by their character only. Being once appointed, they were never removed. Several, it is well known, grew grey in the same employment. The people, it is true, often complained of the price of corn; but the grievance was not imputable to the emperor. To prevent the consequences of unproductive seasons, or losses at sea, he spared neither money nor attention. In the provinces no new burthens were imposed, and the old duties were collected without cruelty or extortion. Corporal punishment was never inflicted, and confiscation of men's effects was a thing unknown.

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VII. IN Italy the land-property of the emperor was considerable. Good order prevailed among his slaves. His freedmen were few, and his household was managed with œconomy. In all questions of right between the emperor and individuals, the courts of justice were open, and the law decided. And yet to this equitable system he did not know how to add a gracious manner: the austerity of his countenance struck men with terror. He continued, however, in the practice of rigid, though not amiable, manners, till the death of Drusus (*a*). While that prince

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survived, Sejanus thought it prudent to advance by slow degrees. He dreaded the resentment of a young man, who did not seek to disguise his passions, but complained aloud, “ that the emperor, though he had a son to succeed him, preferred a stranger to a share in the administration. How little was that upstart minister removed from being a colleague in the empire ! The road of ambition is at first a steep ascent ; but the difficulty once surmounted, the passions of designing men lift in the enterprise, and tools and agents are ready at hand. The favourite is already master of a camp, and the soldiers wait his nod. Among the monuments of Pompey we behold his statue : the grand-children of this new man will be allied in blood to the family of Drusus (*b*). What remains, but humbly to hope that he will have the modesty to stop in his career, content with what he has already gained ? ” Such was the discourse of Drusus, not occasional, but constant ; not in private circles, but at large, and without reserve. His inmost secrets were also known : his wife had forfeited her honour, and was now a spy upon her husband.

VIII. In this posture of affairs, Sejanus thought he had no time to lose. He chose a poison, which, operating as a slow corrosive, might bring on the symptoms of a natural disorder. Lygdus, the eunuch (as was discovered eight years afterwards), (*a*) administered the draught. While Drusus lay ill, Tiberius, never seeming to be in any degree alarmed, or, it may be, willing to make a display of magnanimity, went as usual to the senate. Even after the prince expired, and before the funeral ceremony was performed, he entered the assembly of the fathers. Perceiving the consuls, with dejected looks, seated on the ordinary benches, like men who mourned for the public loss, he put them in mind of their dignity, and their proper station.

The senate melted into tears: but Tiberius, superior to the weakness of nature, delivered an animated speech, in a flowing style, and a tone of firmness. “He was not,” he said, “to be informed that his appearance might be thought unseasonable in the moment of recent affliction, when, according to the general custom, the mind, enfeebled with sorrow, can scarce endure the consolation of friends, and almost loathes the light of the sun. Those tender emotions were the condition of humanity, and, therefore, not to be condemned. For his part, he sought a manly remedy; in the embraces of the commonwealth, and in the bosom of the fathers, he came to lay down his sorrows. He lamented the condition of his mother, drooping under the infirmities of age, the tender years of his grandsons, and his own situation, now in the decline of life. The children of Germanicus, in the present distress, were the only remaining hopes of the people. He desired that they might be brought before the fathers.”

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The consuls went forth to meet the princes. Having prepared their tender minds for so august a scene, they presented them to the emperor. Tiberius, taking them by the hand, addressed the senate: “These orphans, conscript fathers, I delivered into the care of their uncle; and, though he was blessed with issue, I desired that he would cherish them as his own, and train them up in a manner worthy of himself and of posterity. But Drusus is no more: I now turn to you, and, in the presence of the gods, in the hearing of my country, I implore you, take under your protection the great grandchildren of Augustus; adopt the issue of an illustrious line; support them, raise them, mould them at your pleasure for the good of the state; perform at once my duty and your own. As for you, Nero, and you, Drusus, in this assembly you

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“ behold your fathers: born as you are in the highest station,
 “ your lot is such, that nothing good or evil can befall you, with-
 “ out affecting, at the same time, the interest of the common-
 “ wealth.”

IX. THIS speech drew tears from the whole assembly: vows and supplications followed. Had Tiberius known where to stop, instead of adding what exceeded the bounds of probability, every heart would have been touched with sympathy, and every mind impressed with the glory of the prince. But by recurring to the stale and chimerical project, so often heard with derision, the project of abdicating the sovereignty, and resigning the reins of government to the consuls, or any other person willing to undertake the task, he weakened the force of sentiments in themselves just and honourable. The solemnities which had been decreed to the memory of Germanicus, were renewed in honour of Drusus, with considerable additions, agreeable to the genius of flattery, always studious of novelty. The funeral ceremony was distinguished by a long train of illustrious images. In the procession were seen Æneas, the father of the Julian race; the Alban kings; Romulus, the founder of Rome; the Sabin nobility, with Attus Clausus (*a*) at their head, and from him the whole line of the Claudian family.

X. IN this account of the death of Drusus, the best and most authentic historians have been my guides. A report, however, which gained credit at the time, and has not yet died away, ought not to be omitted. It was currently said, that Sejanus, having gained the person and the heart of Livia, proceeded to a fouler intrigue with Lygdus the eunuch, and, by an infamous amour, drew to his interest that tool of iniquity, who was one of the domestic attendants of Drusus, and, for his youth and the graces
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of his person, high in favour with his master. The time and place for administering the poison being settled by the conspirators, Sejanus had the hardihood to change his plan. He contrived, by secret insinuations, to charge Drusus with a plot against his father's life, and dared to whisper a caution to Tiberius, not to taste the first cup that should be offered to him at his son's table. Deceived by this stroke of perfidy, the old man received the cup, and presented it to his son. The prince, with the frankness and gaiety of youth, drank it off: but that alacrity served only to confirm the suspicions entertained by the emperor. His conclusion was, that Drusus, overwhelmed with fear and shame, was in haste to give himself the death, which he had prepared for his father.

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XI. A REPORT of this kind, current among the populace, but unsupported by any good authority, cannot stand the test of examination. What man of plain common-sense, not to speak of a consummate statesman like Tiberius, would present inevitable death to his only son, without so much as hearing him, and thus precipitately commit a fatal deed, never to be recalled? Would it not have been more natural to put the cup-bearer to the torture? Why not enquire who mixed the liquor? Above all, is it probable that Tiberius, ever slow and indecisive, would at once forget the habits of his nature, and, in the case of an only son, a son too never charged with any crime, act with a degree of rashness, which he had never practised to the remotest stranger? The truth is, Sejanus was known to be capable of every species of villany, however atrocious: the partiality of the emperor increased the number of his enemies; and, both the sovereign and the favourite being objects of public detestation, malignity itself could frame no tale so black, and even improbable, that men were not willing to believe.

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The death of princes is always variously reported, and common fame is sure to add a tragic catastrophe. Some years afterwards, the particulars of the murder were brought to light by Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, and confirmed by Eudemus and Lygdus on the rack. In the number of historians, who were envenomed against Tiberius, and with diligence collected anecdotes to wage eternal war against his memory, not one has gone so far as to impute to him a share in this foul transaction. The story, however, such as it is, I have represented in its native colours, willing to flatter myself that, by so glaring an instance, I may destroy the credit of fabulous narrations (*a*), and prevail with the reader, into whose hands this work may fall, not to prefer the fictions of romance, however greedily swallowed by vulgar credulity, to the precision of sober history.

XII. TIBERIUS, in a public speech, delivered the funeral panegyric of his son (*a*). The senate and the people attended in their mourning garments; but their grief was mere outward show, the effect of dissimulation, not of sentiment. They rejoiced in secret, conceiving that from this event the house of Germanicus would begin to flourish. But the dawn of happiness was soon overclouded. The exultation of the people, and the indiscretion of Agrippina, who had not the policy to suppress the emotions of her heart, accelerated her own ruin, and that of her sons. Emboldened by success, Sejanus was ready to go forward in guilt. He saw the murder of Drusus pass with impunity, and even without a sign of public regret. Successful villany inspired him with new courage. He saw that the sons of Germanicus were the presumptive heirs of Tiberius, and, for that reason, began to plot their destruction. Being three in number, they could not all be taken off by poison, while a set
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of faithful attendants watched them with a vigilant eye, and the virtue of Agrippina was impregnable.

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That very virtue was, therefore, to be turned against her. Sejanus called it pride and contumacy. By repeated invectives he roused the inveterate hatred of the elder Livia; and the younger of the name, so recently an accomplice in the murder of Drusus, was easily induced to join in a second conspiracy. They represented Agrippina to Tiberius as a woman proud of her children, intoxicated with popularity, and of a spirit to engage in any dangerous enterprise. The widow of Drusus knew how to choose fit agents for her purpose. Among her instruments of iniquity was Julius Posthumus, a man high in favour with the elder Livia. He had been for some time engaged in an adulterous commerce with Mutilia Prisca, and, through her influence, was graciously received at court. By his subtle practices, and the whispers conveyed by Prisca, the old woman, naturally fond of power, and jealous of every rival, was easily inflamed against her grand-daughter. At the same time, such of Agrippina's attendants as had easy access to her presence, were instructed to choose, in conversation with their mistresses, the topics most likely to exasperate a mind fierce with pride, and ready to take fire on every occasion.

XIII. MEANWHILE, Tiberius, hoping to find in business some respite from the anxieties of his heart, attended to the administration of justice in all disputes between the citizens of Rome. He likewise heard petitions from the provinces and the allies. At his desire, the cities of Cibyra (*a*) in Asia, and Ægium in Achaia, which had suffered by an earthquake, were exempted from their usual tribute for three years. Vibius Serenus, proconsul of the farther Spain, was found guilty of oppression in
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the course of his administration, and, being a man of savage manners, banished to the Isle of Amorgos. Carcius Sacerdos, accused of having supplied Tacfarinas with corn, was tried and acquitted. Caius Gracchus was charged with the same crime, and in like manner declared innocent. He had been carried in his infancy to the Isle of Cercina by Sempronius Gracchus (*b*), his father, who was condemned to banishment. In that place, amidst a crew of outlaws and abandoned fugitives, he grew up in ignorance. To gain a livelihood, he became a dealer in petty merchandize on the coast of Africa and Sicily. His obscurity, however, did not shelter him from the dangers of a higher station. Innocent as he was, if Ælius Lamia (*c*) and Lucius Apronius, formerly proconsuls of Africa, had not espoused his cause, he must have sunk under the weight of the prosecution, a sacrifice to the splendid name of his family, and the misfortunes of his father.

XIV. IN the course of the year, deputations from Greece, on the old subject of sanctuaries, were heard before the senate. The people of Samos claimed an ancient privilege for the Temple of Juno; and those of Coos, for that of Æsculapius. The former relied on a decree of the Amphictyons (*a*), the court of supreme authority, at the time, when colonies from Greece were in possession of the maritime parts of Asia. The deputies from Coos had also their ancient precedents, besides a claim founded on their own peculiar merit. In the general massacre of the Roman citizens throughout Asia and the isles adjacent, committed by order of Mithridates (*b*), they gave a refuge to numbers in the temple of Æsculapius. This business being over, the complaint against the licentiousness of stage-players, often urged by the prætors, and always without effect, was taken up by Tiberius. He stated, “that the people of that profession
“ were

“ were guilty of seditious practices, and, in many instances,
 “ corrupted the morals of private families. The buffoonery of
 “ the Oscan farce (*c*), which in its origin afforded but little plea-
 “ sure even to the dregs of the people, was now grown to such a
 “ height of depravity, as well as credit, that the mischief called
 “ for the interposition of the senate.” The players were ban-
 nished out of Italy.

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XV. TIBERIUS felt this year two severe strokes of affliction :
 he lost one of the twin-sons of Drusus (*a*), and also his inti-
 mate friend Lucilius Longus, a man connected with him in
 the closest friendship ; in all scenes, either of good or adverse
 fortune, his faithful companion, and, of all the senators,
 the only one that followed him in his retreat to the Isle of
 Rhodes. Though of no distinction, and in fact a new man,
 his funeral was performed with the pomp belonging to the
 censorial order (*b*) ; and a statue was decreed to his memory in
 the Forum of Augustus, at the public expence. All business
 was, at this time, still transacted in the senate. The forms of
 the constitution remained ; and accordingly Lucilius Capito,
 who had been collector of the imperial revenues in Asia, was
 brought to his trial before the fathers, at the suit of the province.
 Tiberius thought proper to declare, “ That the commission
 “ granted to the accused, extended only to the slaves and reve-
 “ nues of the prince. Should it appear that he assumed the
 “ prætorian authority, and, to support his usurpation, called in
 “ the aid of the military, he went beyond the line of his duty ;
 “ and, in that case, the allegations of the province ought to
 “ be heard.” The business came to a hearing, and Capito
 was condemned. The cities of Asia, to mark their sense of
 this act of justice, and their gratitude for the punishment of
 Caius Silanus (*c*) in the preceding year, voted a statue to Tibe-

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rius, to Livia, and the senate. They applied to the fathers for their consent, and succeeded. Nero, in the name of the province, returned thanks to the senate and his grandfather. He was heard with pleasure by the whole audience. Germanicus was still present to their minds; and, in the son, men fancied that they saw and heard the father. The figure of the young prince was interesting. An air of modesty, united to the dignity of his person, charmed every eye; and the well-known animosity of Sejanus engaged all hearts in his favour.

XVI. ABOUT this time the office of high priest of Jupiter became vacant by the death of Servius Maluginensis. Tiberius, in a speech to the senate, proposed that they should proceed to the choice of a successor, and at the same time pass a new law to regulate that business for the future. The custom had been to name three patricians, descended from a marriage, contracted according to the rites of CONFARRATION (*a*). Out of the number so proposed, one was to be elected. “ But this mode “ was no longer in use. The ceremony of confarration was “ grown obsolete; or, if observed, it was by a few families only. “ Of this alteration many causes might be assigned; and chiefly “ the inattention of both sexes to the interests of religion. The “ ceremonies, it is true, are attended with some difficulty; and “ for that reason they are fallen into disuse. Besides this, the “ priest so chosen was no longer subject to paternal authority; “ and the woman, who gave him her hand in marriage, was “ intitled to the same exemption. To remedy these incon- “ veniences, a law is necessary. Many customs, that held too “ much of the rigour of antiquity, were new modelled by Au- “ gustus in conformity to the polished manners of the times.”

After due deliberation, it was thought advisable by the fathers
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to leave the priesthood on its old establishment, without innovation. With regard to the priestesses, a new law took place. In her religious functions, it was declared, that she should be in the power of her husband only, subject in all other respects to the laws of her sex, without any privilege to distinguish her from other women. The son of Maluginensis succeeded to his father. In order to give new weight and consideration to the sacerdotal order, and to inspire the ministers of the altar with zeal for the sacred rites, a grant of two thousand great sesterces was ordered for Cornelia, the vestal virgin, who was at this time chosen superior of the order, in the room of Scantia. In compliment to Livia it was further decreed, that, whenever she visited the theatre, her seat should be among the vestal virgins.

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XVII. IN the consulship of Cornelius Cethegus and Visellius Varro, the pontiffs, and, after their example, the other orders of the priesthood, thought proper to blend with the solemn vows which they offered for the safety of the emperor, the names of Nero and Drusus. Zeal for the young princes was not altogether their motive: they had an indirect design to pay their court. But in that age the safe line of conduct was not easily settled. To abstain from flattery was dangerous; and to be lavish of it, provoked contempt, and even resentment. Tiberius, never friendly to the house of Germanicus, saw with indignation two boys exalted to a level with himself. He ordered the pontiffs to attend him. In the interview that followed, he desired to know whether, in what they had done, they complied either with the solicitations or the menaces of Agrippina. Being answered in the negative, he dismissed them with a reprimand, but in gentle terms, most of the order being either his relations, or the first men in Rome. Not content,

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however, with expressing his disapprobation in private, he desired, in a speech to the senate, that all might be upon their guard, not to inflame the minds of young men with ideas of power, and, by consequence, with a spirit above their station. Sejanus was the prompter in this business. He had the ear of the emperor, and filled him with apprehensions that Rome was divided into factions, inflamed against each other with no less fury than if they were actually engaged in a civil war. There were those, he said, who called themselves the partisans of Agrippina: if not suppressed, they would in time become too powerful. To check the growing discord, there was nothing left but to cut off one or two of the most active leaders.

XVIII. THE first blow was struck at Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus. Their connection with Germanicus was their crime; but Silius was obnoxious for various reasons. He had been, during a space of seven years, at the head of a powerful army: by his conduct in Germany he had gained triumphal ornaments; he conquered Sacrovir, and quelled the insurrection in Gaul. Falling from that elevation, his ruin would resound far and wide, and spread a general terror. His own indiscretion was thought at the time to have incensed Tiberius, and, by consequence, it provoked his fate. Success inspired him with vain glory. He boasted, that the army under his command continued in firm fidelity, while sedition raised her standard in every other camp; and if the spirit of revolt had reached his legions, the imperial dignity would have tottered on the head of the prince. Tiberius took the alarm: he thought his own importance lessened, and his fortune, great as it was, unable to recompense such extraordinary services. He felt himself under obligations to his officer; and obligations (such is the nature of the human mind)

mind) are only then acknowledged, when it is in our power to requite them : if they exceed all measure, to be insolvent is painful, and gratitude gives way to hatred.

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XIX. SOSIA GALLA, the wife of Silius, was closely connected with Agrippina, and, for that reason, detested by Tiberius. She and her husband were doomed to fall an immediate sacrifice. Sabinus was reserved for a future day. Against the two former Varro, the consul, undertook the despicable part of public prosecutor. Pretending to adopt the resentments of his father, he became the fervile agent of Sejanus. Silius requested that the trial might be deferred, till the consul, now turned accuser, should cease to be in office. Though the interval was short, Tiberius opposed the motion, alleging, that men were frequently arraigned by the other magistrates ; and why abridge the authority of the consul ? It is his duty to take care that the commonwealth may receive no injury. Such was the state-craft of Tiberius : to crimes invented by himself he gave the old republican names, and by that artifice amused the public.

The senate was summoned with regular solemnity, as if the proceeding was to be according to law ; as if Varro was, in truth, acting the part of consul, and in the reign of Tiberius the constitution still remained in vigour. Silius made no defence. He broke silence, indeed, at different times, but merely to shew that he saw in what quarter the arm of oppression was raised against him. The heads of the accusation were, that, in a dark conspiracy with Sacrovir, he concealed the machinations of that insurgent ; that his victory was tarnished by cruelty, and that, with his connivance, acts of rapacity and oppression were committed by his wife. The last article was too well founded ; but the prosecution went altogether on the crime of violated majesty. Silius saw that his doom

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was fixed, and, to prevent final judgment, put an end to his life.

XX. THE law, notwithstanding, laid hold of his effects; not however to make restitution to the Gauls; for the Gauls made no claim. The whole of what the unhappy victim had received from the bounty of Augustus, after an exact estimate made, was seized, and carried into the treasury of the prince. In this instance, Tiberius, for the first time, looked with the eye of avarice on the property of others. On the motion of Asinius Gallus, Sofia was ordered into exile. By that senator it was further proposed, that part of her effects should be confiscated, and the remainder given to her children. Manius Lepidus contended, that one fourth should go, as (*a*) the law directed, to the prosecutors, and the residue to her children. This sentence prevailed. It is but justice to the character of Lepidus (*b*), to observe in this place, that, considering the times in which he lived, he appears to have been a man of ability, temperate, wise, and upright. The violent measures often proposed by others, always the result of fervile adulation, were, by his address, frequently rejected, altered, or modified, with so much good-sense and temper, that he preserved at once his credit at court, and the esteem of the public.

This happiness, so singular and so fairly enjoyed, arrests our attention, and naturally raises an enquiry whether the favour or antipathy of princes, like all other sublunary contingencies, is governed by the immutable laws of fate(*c*); and, by consequence, the lot of man may be said to be determined in his natal hour. The question is intricate; but perhaps free will and moral agency are still so far allowed, that each individual may chalk out the line of his own conduct, and, by steering between the opposite

extremes of blunt austerity and abject meanness, pursue a middle course with safety and with honour. Messalinus Cotta, a man equal in point of birth to Manius Lepidus, but of a very different character, moved for a decree, declaring that all magistrates, however blameless in their own conduct, and even ignorant of the guilt of others, should, notwithstanding, be responsible for the unlawful acts committed in the provinces by their wives.

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XXI. THE business brought forward in the next place, was the charge against Calpurnius Piso (*a*), that illustrious citizen, distinguished not more by the nobility of his birth, than by his unshaken virtue, who, as has been related, threatened a secession from Rome, in order to find, in some remote place, a shelter from the vices of the age, and the harpies of the law. It may be remembered, likewise, that, in the cause against Urgulania, he scorned to yield to the weight and influence of the emperor's mother, but cited the defendant from the very palace of the prince. His conduct, at the time, was treated by Tiberius as the exercise of a civil right; but in a mind like his, that which at first made a slight impression, was sure to be embittered by reflection. Quintus Granius was the prosecutor of Piso. He exhibited an accusation for words spoken in private against the majesty of the emperor; for keeping poison in his house; and entering the senate with a concealed dagger. The two last articles, too gross to be believed, were thrown out of the case. Other allegations were heaped together to swell the charge; and Piso, it was determined, was to be brought to his trial: but a natural death put an end to the prosecution.

A new complaint was presented to the senate against Cassius Severus (*b*), a man of mean extraction, void of principle, profligate in his manners, but an orator of considerable eloquence.

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He had been, by a judgment, pronounced under the sanction of an oath, condemned to exile in the Isle of Crete. Persisting there in his licentious practices, he rekindled the indignation of the fathers, and by new vices provoked new enemies. Stripped of all his effects, and interdicted from fire and water, he was removed to the Isle of Seriphos (*c*), where, in old age and misery, he languished on the rocks.

XXII. ABOUT this time Plautius Silvanus, one of the prætors, impelled by some secret motive, threw his wife Apronia out of the window of her apartment, and killed her on the spot. Being immediately seized by his father-in-law, Lucius Apronius, and conveyed to the presence of the emperor, he made answer, with an air of distraction, that, while he lay asleep, his wife committed that act of violence. Tiberius went directly to the house. He examined the apartment, and saw evident signs of a person who had struggled, but was overcome by force. He made his report to the senate, and commissioners were appointed to enquire and pronounce their judgment. Urgulania, the grandmother of Silvanus, sent a dagger to him as her best present. This, on account of her known intimacy with Livia, was supposed to proceed from Tiberius. The criminal, after attempting, but with irresolution, to apply the dagger to his breast, ordered his veins to be opened. In a short time afterwards Numantina, his former wife, was accused of having, by drugs and magic spells, distempered his brain. She was acquitted of the charge.

XXIII. THE war with Tacfarinas the Numidian, by which Rome had been long embroiled, was this year happily terminated. The former commanders, as soon as they had laid a foundation for the obtaining of triumphal ornaments, considered their business as finished, and gave the enemy time to breathe. There were

were at Rome no less than three statues (*a*) decorated with laurel, and yet Tacfarinas ravaged the province. He was reinforced by the neighbouring Moors, who saw with indignation their new king, Ptolemy, the son of Juba (*b*), resign, with youthful inexperience, the reins of government to his freedmen. The malcontents of that nation went over to the banners of Tacfarinas, determined to try the fortune of war, rather than tamely submit to the tyranny of enfranchised slaves. The king (*c*) of the Garamantes entered into a secret league with the Numidian. Not choosing to take the field at the head of his forces, he helped to carry on a war of depredation. His dominions were a depositary for all their plunder. His troops went out in detached parties, and, as is usual in all distant commotions, were magnified by the voice of fame into a prodigious army. Even from the (*d*) Roman province, all who struggled with want, or by their crimes were rendered desperate, went over to Tacfarinas. A recent incident encouraged the revolt. In consequence of the success of Blæsus, Tiberius, thinking the war at an end, ordered the ninth legion to be recalled. Dolabella, the proconsul for the year, saw the inexpediency of the measure; but, dreading the anger of Tiberius more than the incursions of the enemy, he did not venture, even for the defence of the province, to detain the troops.

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XXIV. TACFARINAS, availing himself of this circumstance, spread a rumour round the country, that the Roman empire being invaded on every side, Africa, by degrees, was to be evacuated, and the remainder of the legions might be easily cut off, if all who preferred their liberty to ignominious bondage, would take up arms in defence of their country. He gained, by these artifices, a new accession of strength, and laid siege to the city of Thubuscum. Dolabella, with what force he could collect, marched to the relief of the place. The terror of the Roman name was on

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his side, and the affair was with an enemy, who could never sustain the shock of a well-embodied infantry. He no sooner shewed himself in force, than the Numidians abandoned the siege. Dolabella, at all convenient places, fortified his posts, and stationed garrisons to secure the country. Finding the Mufulanians on the point of a revolt, he seized their chiefs, and ordered their heads to be struck off. Experience had taught him, that a regular army, encumbered with baggage, could give but a bad account of a wild and defultory enemy, who made war by sudden incursions, and avoided a decisive action: he therefore resolved to vary his operations, and having called to his aid the young king Ptolemy, at the head of a large body of his subjects, he divided his army into four detached parties, under the command of his lieutenants, and the military tribunes. A chosen band of Moors, conducted by officers of that nation, had orders to ravage the country. The proconsul marched himself in person, ready at hand to direct the motions of his army, and give vigour to the enterprise.

XXV. INTELLIGENCE was brought soon after, that the Numidians, depending upon the advantages of a situation encompassed by a depth of forests, had pitched their huts near the ruins of a castle, called Auzea (*a*), which they had formerly destroyed by fire. The cavalry and light cohorts, ignorant of their destination, were sent forward without delay. They made a forced march in the night, and at break of day arrived before the place. The Barbarians, scarce awake, were alarmed on every side with warlike shouts and the clangor of trumpets. Their horses were either fastened to stakes, or let loose to wander on the pasture grounds. The Romans advanced in order of battle, their infantry in close array, and the cavalry prepared for action. The Barbarians were taken by surprise, no arms at hand, no order, no concerted measure. They were attacked without delay, and like a herd of cattle mangled,

mangled, butchered, taken. The Roman soldiers, fierce with resentment for all their toil and fatigue, rushed with fury against an enemy, who had so often fled from their sword. The victorious troops were glutted with Numidian blood. The word was given through the ranks, that Tacfarinas was the proper object of their vengeance: his person was well known; his death, and nothing less, would end the war. That daring adventurer saw his guards fall on every side. His son was already in fetters, and he himself hemmed in by the Romans. In despair he rushed forward, where the shower of darts was thickest, and, selling his life at the dearest rate, had the glory of dying in freedom. This event quieted the commotions in Africa.

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XXVI. FOR these services Dolabella expected triumphal ornaments: but Tiberius, apprehending that Sejanus would think the honours, granted to his uncle Blæsus, tarnished by the success of a rival, refused to comply with the request. Blæsus gained no addition to his fame, while that of Dolabella grew brighter by injustice. With an inferior army, he had taken a number of prisoners, among whom were the leading chiefs of the nation; and, by the death of Tacfarinas, he put an end to the war. At his return from Africa, he gave a spectacle rarely seen at Rome, a train of ambassadors from the Garamantes! The people of that country, conscious of their guilt, and by the death of the Numidian chief thrown into consternation, sent their deputies to appease the resentment of the emperor. The services of king Ptolemy being stated to the senate, an ancient custom, long since fallen into disuse, was revived in honour of that monarch. The fathers sent a member of their body, to present (*a*) an ivory sceptre and a painted robe, the ancient gift to kings, with instructions, at the same time, to salute young Ptolemy, by the titles of KING, ALLY, and FRIEND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

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XXVII. DURING the same summer, a fervile war was ready to break out in Italy; but, by a fortunate accident, the flame was soon extinguished. The incendiary, who excited the commotion, was formerly a soldier in the prætorian bands, by name Titus Curtius. This man began his seditious practices in private cabals at Brundisium, and the adjacent towns. Having made his impression, he went the length of fixing up in public places seditious libels, inviting the agrarian slaves to issue from their woods and wilds, and take up arms in the cause of liberty. It happened, however, that three galleys, employed in the navigation of those seas, arrived providentially on the coast. Curtius Lupus, the quæstor, in whose province it was, according to ancient usage, to superintend the roads (*a*) through the forests, was, at that time, in the neighbourhood. He ordered the mariners to be landed, and, putting himself at their head, crushed the conspiracy in the bud. Statius, a military tribune, had been, on the first alarm, dispatched by Tiberius with a strong band of soldiers. He arrived in good time, and, having seized the chief conspirators with their leader, returned to Rome with his prisoners bound in chains. The capital, at that time, was far from being in a state of tranquillity. Men saw, with terror, a vast multitude of slaves increasing (*b*) beyond all proportion, while the number of freeborn citizens was visibly on the decline.

XXVIII. DURING the same consulship, a scene of horror, that gave a shock to nature, and marked the cruelty of the times, was acted in the face of the world. A father pleaded for his life, while his son stood forth the accuser. The name of each was Vibius Serenus (*a*). They appeared before the senate. The father had been banished. He was now dragged from his retreat, deformed with filth, and loaded with irons; a spectacle of misery. The son came forward in trim apparel, ease in his mien, and alacrity in his countenance.

tenance. He charged the old man with a conspiracy against the life of the emperor, and with sending emissaries into Gaul to kindle the flame of rebellion: and thus the son acted in a double character, at once the accuser, and the witness. He added, that Cæcilius Cornutus, of prætorian rank, supplied the accomplices with money. Cornutus, weary of life, and knowing that a prosecution was a prelude to destruction, laid violent hands on himself. Serenus, on the contrary, with a spirit undismayed, fixed his eye on his son, and clanking his chains, exclaimed, "Restore me, just and vindictive gods! restore me to my place of banishment, far from the sight of men, who suffer such an outrage to humanity. For that parricide, may your vengeance, in due time, overtake his guilt." He pronounced Cornutus an innocent man, but destitute of courage, weak, and easily alarmed. He desired that the confederates in the plot might be named, and, by a minute enquiry, the truth, he said, would be brought to light. "For can it be, that, with only one accomplice, I should undertake to imbrue my hands in the blood of the emperor, and to overturn the government?"

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XXIX. The informer gave in the names of Cneius Lentulus and Seius Tubero. The mention of those men threw Tiberius into confusion. They were both of illustrious rank, both his intimate friends. That Lentulus in the evening of his days, and Tubero drooping under bodily infirmity, should be charged with meditating an insurrection in Gaul, and a conspiracy against the state, made a deep impression on his spirits. Against them no further enquiry was made. The slaves of the aged father were examined on the rack, and, by their testimony, every allegation was refuted. The son, overwhelmed with a sense of his guilt, and terrified by the indignation of the populace, who threatened (a) the dungeon, the Tarpeian rock, and all the pains and penalties of

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of parricide, made his escape from Rome. He was retaken at Ravenna, and carried back to proceed in his accusation, and gratify the spleen of Tiberius, who hated the old man, and, upon this occasion, did not disguise his rancour. Vibius, it seems, soon after the condemnation of Libo (*b*), complained by letter to the emperor, that his services in that business had not been duly recompensed. The style of his remonstrance was more free and bold, than can with safety be addressed to the proud ear of power, at all times sensibly alive to every expression, and easily alarmed. At the distance of eight years Tiberius shewed that he had been ruminating mischief. The intermediate time, he said, though no proof could be extorted from the slaves, was passed by the prisoner in a continued series of atrocious crimes.

XXX. THE question being put, the majority was for a capital punishment, according to the rigour of ancient law. Tiberius, to soften popular prejudice, opposed so harsh a sentence. Asinius Gallus moved that Serenus should be banished to the Isle of Gyarus or Donusa. This also was opposed by the emperor. In those islands there was a dearth of water; and when life is granted, the means of supporting it ought to follow. The old man was remanded to the island of Amorgos. As Cornutus had dispatched himself, a motion was made, that whenever the person accused of violated majesty, prevented judgment by a voluntary death, the informers should be entitled to no reward (*a*). The fathers inclined to that opinion; but Tiberius, in plain terms, without his usual ambiguity, shewed himself the patron of the whole race of informers. “The course of justice,” he said, “would be stopt, “and, by such a decision, the commonwealth would be brought “to the brink of ruin. It were better to abrogate all laws at “once. If we must have laws, let us not remove the vigilance “that gives them energy.” In this manner that pernicious crew, the

the bane and scourge of society, who, in fact, have never been effectually restrained, were now let loose, with the wages of iniquity in view, to harass and destroy their fellow citizens.

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XXXI. THROUGH the cloud of these tempestuous times a gleam of joy broke forth. Caius Cominius, a Roman knight, was convicted for being author of defamatory verses against the emperor; but at the intercession of his brother, a member of the senate, Tiberius pardoned the offence. This act of lenity, standing in contrast to a series of evil deeds, made men wonder, that he, who knew the fair renown that waits on the virtues of humanity, should persevere in the practice of cruelty and oppression. Want of discernment was not among the faults of Tiberius; nor was he misled by the applause of temporizing courtiers. Between the praise which adulation offers, and that which flows from sentiment, a mind like his could easily distinguish. His own manner marked his sense of good and evil. Though close and guarded on most occasions, even to a degree of hesitation, it was remarkable, that, when he meant a generous act, his language was fluent, clear, and unequivocal.

In a matter that came on soon after, against Publius Suilius (*a*), formerly quæstor under Germanicus, and now convicted of bribery in a cause where he sat in judgment, the emperor, not content with a general sentence of banishment out of Italy, insisted that he ought to be confined to an island. This decision he urged in a tone of vehemence, averring, with the solemnity of an oath, that the interest of the commonwealth required it. And yet this proceeding, condemned, at the time, as harsh and violent, was, in a subsequent reign, allowed to be founded in justice. Suilius was recalled by Claudius. He then announced his real character; proud, imperious, corrupt, and venal; high in favour with the reigning

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reigning prince, and using his influence for the worst of purposes. Catus Firmius was; in like manner, condemned, on a charge of having maliciously accused his sister on the law of majesty. It was this man, as has been related, who first deceived the unsuspecting Libo (*b*), and then betrayed him to his ruin. For that sacrifice of all truth and honour, Tiberius was not ungrateful. To reward his services, yet pretending to act with other motives, he over-ruled the sentence of banishment, but agreed that he should be expelled the senate.

XXXII. THE transactions hitherto related, and those which are to follow, may, I am well aware, be thought of little importance, and beneath the dignity of history. But no man, it is presumed, will think of comparing these Annals with the historians of the old republic. Those writers had for their subject, wars of the greatest magnitude; cities taken by storm; kings overthrown, or led in captivity to Rome: and when from those scenes of splendour they turned their attention to domestic occurrences, they had still an ample field before them; they had dissensions between the consuls and the tribunes; they had agrarian laws, the price of corn, and the populace and patrician order inflamed with mutual animosity. Those were objects that filled the imagination of the reader, and gave free scope to the genius of the writer. The work, in which I am engaged, lies in a narrow compass; the labour is great, and glory there is none. A long and settled calm, scarce lifted to a tempest; wars no sooner begun than ended; a gloomy scene at home, and a prince without ambition, or even a wish to enlarge the boundaries of the empire: these are the scanty materials that lie before me. And yet materials like these are not to be undervalued; though slight in appearance, they still merit attention, since they are often the secret spring of the most important events.

XXXIII. If we consider the nature of civil government, we shall find, that, in all nations, the supreme authority is vested either in the people, or the nobles, or a single ruler. A constitution (*a*) compounded of these three simple forms, may in theory be beautiful, but can never exist in fact; or, if it should, it will be but of short duration. At Rome, while the republic flourished, and the senate and the people gained alternate victories over each other, it was the business of the true politician, to study the manners and temper of the multitude, in order to restrain within due bounds a tumultuous and discordant mass; and, on the other hand, he who best knew the senate, and the characters of the leading members, was deemed the most accomplished statesman of his time. At present, since a violent convulsion has overturned the old republic, and the government of Rome differs in nothing from a monarchy (*b*), the objects of political knowledge are changed, and, for that reason, such transactions as it is my business to relate, will not be without their use. Few are qualified, by their own reflection, to mark the boundaries between vice and virtue. To separate the useful from that which leads to destruction, is not the talent of every man. The example of others is the school of wisdom.

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It must however be acknowledged, that the detail into which I am obliged to enter, is in danger, while it gives lessons of prudence, of being dry and unentertaining. In other histories, the situation of countries, the events of war, and the exploits of illustrious generals, awaken curiosity, and enlarge the imagination. We have nothing before us, but acts of despotism, continual accusations, the treachery of friends, the ruin of innocence, and trial after trial ending always in the same tragic catastrophe. These, no doubt, will give to the present work a tedious uniformity, without an object to enliven attention, without an incident to prevent

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fatiety. It may be further observed, that the ancient historian is safe from the severity of criticism: whether he favours the cause of Rome or of Carthage, the reader is indifferent to both parties; whereas the descendants of those who, in the reign of Tiberius, were either put to death, or branded with infamy, are living at this hour; and besides, if the whole race were extinct, will there not be at all times a succession of men, who, from congenial manners, and sympathy in vice, will think the fidelity of history a satire on themselves? Even the praise due to virtue is sure to give umbrage. The illustrious character is brought too near to the depravity of modern times. The contrast is too strong for tender eyes. But I return from this digression.

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XXXIV. DURING the consulship of Cornelius Cossus and Asinius Agrippa, a new, and, till that time, unheard of crime was laid to the charge of Cremutius Cordus (*a*). He had published a series of annals. In that work, after the encomium of Brutus, he styled Cassius (*b*) the last of Romans. For this sentiment a prosecution was commenced against the author by Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta, both known to be the creatures of Sejanus. That circumstance was of itself sufficient; but the stern countenance, with which Tiberius heard the defence, was a fatal prognostic. With a spirit, however, prepared for the worst, and even resolved on death, Cordus spoke to the following effect. “The charge, conscript fathers, is for words only; so irreproachable is my conduct. And what are my words? Do they affect the emperor, or his mother, the only persons included in the law of majesty? It is, however, my crime, that I have treated the memory of Brutus and Cassius with respect: and have not others done the same? In the number of writers, who composed the lives of those eminent men, is there one who has not done honour to their memory? Titus Livius, that admirable
“historian,

“ historian, not more distinguished by his eloquence than by his
 “ fidelity, was so lavish in praise of Pompey, that Augustus called
 “ him the *Pompeian*: and yet the friendship of that emperor was
 “ unalterable. Scipio, and Afranius, with this same Brutus, and
 “ this very Cassius, are mentioned by that immortal author, not
 “ indeed as (*c*) RUFFIANS and PARRICIDES (the appellations now
 “ in vogue); but as virtuous, upright, and illustrious Romans. In
 “ the works of Asinius Pollio their names are decorated with every
 “ praise. Messala Corvinus boasted that Cassius was his general.
 “ And yet those two distinguished writers flourished in the esteem
 “ of Augustus, and enjoyed both wealth and honours. Cicero
 “ dedicated an entire volume to the memory of Cato. What was
 “ the conduct of Cæsar, the dictator? He contented himself with
 “ writing an answer, in effect, appealing to the tribunal of the
 “ public. The letters of Mark Anthony, as well as the speeches
 “ of Brutus, abound with passages against Augustus, false indeed,
 “ but in a style of bitter invective. The verses of Bibaculus and
 “ Catullus, though keen lampoons on the family of the Cæsars,
 “ are in every body’s hands. Neither Julius Cæsar nor Augustus
 “ shewed any resentment against these envenomed productions:
 “ on the contrary, they left them to make their way in the world.
 “ Was this their moderation, or superior wisdom? Perhaps it was
 “ the latter. Neglected calumny soon expires: shew that you are
 “ hurt, and you give it the appearance of truth.

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XXXV. “ FROM Greece I draw no precedents. In that
 “ country not only liberty, but even licentiousness was encouraged.
 “ He who felt the edge of satire, knew how to retaliate. Words
 “ were revenged by words. When public characters have passed
 “ away from the stage of life, and the applause of friendship, as
 “ well as the malice of enemies, is heard no more; it has ever
 “ been the prerogative of history to rejudge their actions. Brutus

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“ and Cassius are not now at the head of armies : they are not
 “ encamped on the plains of Philippi : can I assist their cause ?
 “ Have I harangued the people, or incited them to take up
 “ arms ? It is now more than sixty years since those two
 “ extraordinary men perished by the sword : from that time,
 “ they have been seen in their busts and statues : those remains
 “ the very conqueror spared, and history has been just to their
 “ memory. Posterity allows to every man his true value and
 “ his proper honours. You may, if you will, by your judg-
 “ ment affect my life : but Brutus and Cassius will be still re-
 “ membered, and my name may attend their triumph.” Having
 thus delivered his sentiments, he left the senate, and (*a*) by absti-
 nence put an end to his days.

The fathers ordered his book to be burnt by the ædiles ; but to destroy it was not in their power (*b*). It was preserved in secret, and copies have been multiplied ; so vain and senseless is the attempt, by an arbitrary act, to extinguish the light of truth, and defraud posterity of due information. Genius thrives under oppression : persecute the author, and you enhance the value of his work. Foreign tyrants, and all who have adopted their barbarous policy, have experienced this truth : by proscribing talents, they recorded their own disgrace, and gave the writer a passport to immortality.

XXXVI. THE whole of this year was one continued series of prosecutions ; inasmuch that on one of the days of the Latin festival (*a*), when Drusus, in his character of præfect of Rome, ascended the tribunal, Calpurnius Salvianus took that opportunity to present an accusation against Sextus Marius. A proceeding so irregular drew down the censure of Tiberius. Salvianus was driven into banishment. A complaint against the inhabitants
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of the city of Cyzicus was presented to the senate, charging, that they had suffered the ceremonies in honour of Augustus to fall into contempt, and had, moreover, offered violence to several Roman citizens. For this offence they were deprived of the privileges, which had been granted to them for their fidelity in the war with Mithridates. That monarch laid siege to their city; but, by the fortitude of the people, not less than by the succour sent by Lucullus, he was obliged to abandon the place. Fonteius Capito, who had been proconsul of Asia, was acquitted of the charge alleged against him by the malice of that daring accuser, Vibius Serenus (*b*). And yet the author of so vile a calumny passed with impunity. He had the curses of the people, and the protection of the emperor. Informers, in proportion as they rose in guilt, became sacred characters. If any were punished, it was only such as were mere novices in guilt, obscure and petty villains, who had no talents for mischief.

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XXXVII. AMBASSADORS, about this time, arrived from the further Spain, praying leave, in imitation of the people of Asia, to build a temple to the emperor and his mother. Tiberius had strength of mind to despise the offerings of adulation: he knew, however, that his conduct on a former occasion had been taxed with the littleness of vain glory. To clear himself from that aspersión, he made the following speech. “ I am not, conscript fathers, now to learn that, when a similar petition came from Asia, I was accused of weakness and irresolution, for not giving a decided negative. The silence which I then observed, and the law which I have laid down to myself for the future, it is my intention now to explain. Augustus, it is well known, permitted a temple to be raised at Pergamus, in honour of himself and the city of Rome. His example has ever been the rule of my conduct. I yielded to the solicitations of Asia,

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“ the more willingly, as with the veneration offered to myself,
 “ that of the senate was mixed and blended. That single act
 “ of compliance may perhaps require no apology: but to be
 “ deified throughout the provinces, and intrude my own image
 “ among the statues of the gods, what were it but vain pre-
 “ sumption, the height of human arrogance? Erect more altars,
 “ and the homage paid to Augustus will be no longer an honour
 “ to his memory: by promiscuous use, it will tarnish in the eyes
 “ of mankind, and vanish into nothing.

XXXVIII. “ As to myself, conscript fathers, I pretend to
 “ nothing above the condition of humanity: a mortal man, I
 “ have the duties of our common nature to perform. Raised
 “ to a painful pre-eminence, if I sustain the arduous character
 “ imposed upon me, the measure of my happiness is full. These
 “ are my sentiments; I avow them in your presence, and I
 “ hope they will reach posterity. Should future ages pronounce
 “ me not unworthy of my ancestors; should they think me
 “ vigilant for the public good, in danger firm, and, for the
 “ interest of all, ready to encounter personal animosities, that
 “ character will be the bright reward of all my labours. Those
 “ are the temples which I wish to raise: they are the truest
 “ temples, for they are fixed in the heart. It is there I would
 “ be worshipped, in the esteem and the affections of men, that
 “ best and most lasting monument. Piles of stone and marble
 “ structures, when the idol ceases to be adored, and the judg-
 “ ment of posterity rises to execration, are mere charnel houses,
 “ that moulder into ruin.

“ I therefore now address myself to the allies of the empire,
 “ to the citizens of Rome, and to the immortal gods: to the
 “ gods it is my prayer, that to the end of life they may grant
 “ the

“ the blessing of an undisturbed, a clear, a collected mind, with
 “ a just sense of laws both human and divine. Of mankind I
 “ request, that, when I am no more, they will do justice to
 “ my memory ; and, with kind acknowledgments, record my
 “ name, and the actions of my life.” In these sentiments he
 persisted ever after. Even in private conversation he never
 ceased to declaim against the abuse of religious honours.
 For this self-denial various motives were assigned. Some called
 it modesty ; others, a sense of his own demerit ; many imputed
 it to a degenerate spirit, insensible to all fair and honourable
 distinctions. The love of glory, they observed, has ever been
 the incentive of exalted minds. It was by this principle, that
 Hercules and Bacchus enrolled themselves among the gods of
 Greece ; and it was thus that Romulus was deified at Rome.
 Augustus made a right estimate of things, and, by consequence,
 aspired to rank himself with ancient worthies. With regard to
 other gratifications, princes are in a station, where to desire, is
 to have. But the passion for glory ought to be insatiable. The
 esteem of posterity is the true ambition of a prince. From the
 contempt of fame (*a*) arises a contempt of virtue.

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XXXIX. SEJANUS, intoxicated with success, and hurried on
 by the importunity of the younger Livia (*a*), who was grown
 impatient for the promised marriage, thought fit to open the bu-
 siness to the emperor. All applications, at that time, even when
 a personal interview took place, were presented to the prince in
 writing (*b*). The purport of the memorial was, that “ the mu-
 “ nificence of Augustus to the petitioner, and the favours added
 “ by Tiberius, had so engrossed all his faculties, that he was
 “ now accustomed, instead of supplicating the gods, to offer up
 “ his prayers to the prince. Of rank and splendour he had
 “ never been ambitious : a post of difficulty, where he watched
 “ day

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“ day and night like a common sentinel, to guard the life of
 “ his sovereign, was the only honour he had ever fought.
 “ And yet a mark of the highest distinction had been conferred
 “ upon him. The emperor deemed him worthy of an alliance
 “ with the imperial house (*c*). His present hopes were built
 “ on that foundation. Having heard that Augustus (*d*), when
 “ the marriage of his daughter was in contemplation, doubted,
 “ for some time, whether he should not give her to a Roman
 “ knight ; he presumed to offer his humble request, that Tibe-
 “ rius, if a new match was designed for Livia, would graciously
 “ think of a friend, who would bear in mind a due sense of the
 “ favour conferred upon him, but never claim an exemption
 “ from the toil and duty of his post. To shelter his family
 “ from the animosity of Agrippina was the object he had in
 “ view. He felt for his children ; but as to himself, if he died
 “ in the service of his prince, he should die content and full
 “ of years.”

XL. TIBERIUS expressed himself pleased with the style of
 affection that breathed through the memorial. He mentioned,
 in a cursory manner, the favours he had granted, but desired time
 for the consideration of a subject so entirely new and unexpected.
 Having weighed the business, he returned the following answer :
 “ In all matters of deliberation, self-interest is the principle by
 “ which individuals decide for themselves : with princes it is
 “ otherwise. The opinions of the people claim their attention,
 “ and public fame must direct their conduct. To the request
 “ which had been made, an obvious answer presented itself to
 “ his pen : he might observe, that it was for Livia to determine,
 “ whether she would contract another marriage, or be content
 “ to remain the widow of Drusus. He might add, that she had
 “ a mother (*a*) and a grandmother, more nearly connected than
 “ him-

“ himself, and, for that reason, fitter to be consulted. But he
 “ would deal openly, and in terms of plain simplicity. And
 “ first, as to Agrippina; her resentments would break out with
 “ redoubled violence, if, by the marriage of Livia, she saw the
 “ imperial family divided into contending factions. Even at
 “ present, female jealousies made a scene of tumult and dis-
 “ traction. His grandsons were involved in their disputes.
 “ Should the marriage be allowed, perpetual discord might be
 “ the consequence.

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“ Do you imagine, Sejanus, that Livia, the widow first of
 “ Caius Cæsar, and since of Drusus, will act an humble part, and
 “ waste her life in the embraces of a Roman knight? Should
 “ I consent, what will be said by those who saw her father, her
 “ brother, and the ancestors of our family, invested with the
 “ highest honours of the state? But it seems you will not aspire
 “ above your present station. Remember that the magistrates,
 “ and the first men in Rome, who besiege your levee, and in
 “ every thing defer to your judgment; remember, I say, that
 “ they now proclaim aloud, that you have already soared above
 “ the equestrian rank, and enjoy higher authority than was ever
 “ exercised by the favourites of my father. They declaim against
 “ you with envy, and they obliquely glance at me. But Au-
 “ gustus, you say, had thoughts of giving his daughter to one
 “ of the equestrian order. And if, overwhelmed by a weight
 “ of cares, yet sensible at the same time of the honour that would
 “ accrue to the favoured bridegroom, he mentioned occasionally
 “ Caius Proculeius (*b*), and some others, is it not well known
 “ that they were all of moderate principles; men who led a
 “ life of tranquillity, and took no part in the transactions of the
 “ state? And if Augustus had his doubts, is it for me to take a
 “ decided part? His final determination is the true precedent.

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“ He gave his daughter first to Agrippa, and afterwards to my-
 “ self. These are the reflections which I thought proper to
 “ communicate to you. My friendship is without disguise. To
 “ the measures which you and Livia may have concerted, no
 “ obstacle shall arise from me. But still there are other ties by
 “ which I would bind you to myself (c) in closer union. I will
 “ not at present enlarge on the subject. I shall only say, that
 “ I know no honour to which you are not entitled by your
 “ virtues, and your zeal for my interest. But what I think and
 “ feel on this head I shall take occasion to explain to the senate,
 “ or, it may be, in a full assembly of the people.”

XLI. ALARMED by this answer, Sejanus dropped all thoughts of the marriage. A crowd of apprehensions rushed upon him. He feared the penetrating eye of malicious enemies; he dreaded the whispers of suspicion, and the clamours of the public. To prevent impressions to his disadvantage, he presented a second memorial, humbly requesting that the emperor would pay no regard to the suggestions of ill designing men. Between two nice and difficult points the favourite was now much embarrassed. If, for the sake of a more humble appearance, he determined to avoid for the future the great conflux of visitors, who frequented his house, his power, in a short time, would be in its wane; and on the other hand, by receiving such a numerous train, he gave access to spies upon his conduct. A new expedient occurred to him. He resolved to persuade the emperor to withdraw from the city, and lead, in some delightful, but remote, situation, a life of ease and solitary pleasure. In this measure he saw many advantages. Access to the prince would depend on the minister; all letters conveyed by the soldiers would fall into his hands; and Tiberius, now in the vale of years, might be, when charmed with his retreat, and lulled to repose and indolence, more easily

induced

induced to resign the reins of government. In that retirement, the favourite would disengage himself from the vain parade of crowded levees; envy would be appeased; and, instead of the shadow of power, he might grasp the substance. To this end, Sejanus affected to disrelish the noise and bustle of the city; the people assembling in crowds gave him disgust; and the courtiers, who buzzed in the palace, brought nothing but fatigue and vain parade. He talked of the pleasures of rural solitude, where there was nothing but pure enjoyment, no little anxieties, no tedious languor, no intrigues of faction; a scene of tranquillity, where important plans of policy might be concerted at leisure.

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XLII. It happened in this juncture that the trial of Votienus Montanus (*a*), a man famous for his wit and talents, was brought to a hearing. In the course of this business, Tiberius, with a mind already balancing, came to a resolution to avoid, for the future, the assembly of the fathers, where he was so often mortified by grating expressions. Montanus was accused of words injurious to the emperor: Æmilius, a man in the military line, was a witness against him. To establish the charge, this man went into a minute detail, from little circumstances hoping to deduce a full conviction. Though ill heard by the fathers, he persisted, in spite of noise and frequent interruption, to relate every circumstance. Tiberius heard the sarcastic language with which his character was torn and mangled in private. He rose in a sudden transport of passion, declaring, in a peremptory tone, that he would refute the calumny in that stage of the business, or institute a judicial proceeding for the purpose. The entreaties of his friends, seconded by the adulation of the fathers, were scarce sufficient to appease his anger. The judgment usual in cases of violated majesty was pronounced against Montanus (*b*).

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Want of clemency was the general objection to Tiberius ; but the reproach, instead of mitigating, served only to inflame that vindictive temper. With a spirit exasperated, he took up the affair of Aquilia, convicted of adultery with Varius Ligur ; and though Lentulus Gætulicus, consul elect, was of opinion that the penalties (*c*) of the Julian law would be an adequate punishment, she was ordered into exile. Apidius Merula had refused to swear on the acts of Augustus. For that offence Tiberius razed his name from the register of the senators (*d*).

XLIII. THE dispute then depending between the Lacedæmonians and the people of Messena, concerning the temple of the Limnatidian Diana (*a*), was brought to a hearing before the senate. Deputies were heard from both places. On the part of the Lacedæmonians it was contended, that the structure in question was built by their ancestors, within the territory of Sparta. For proof of the fact, they cited extracts from history, and passages of ancient poetry. In the war with Philip of Macedon, they were deprived of their right by force of arms ; but the same was restored by Julius Cæsar and Mark Anthony. The Messenians, on the other hand, produced an ancient chart of Peloponnesus, divided among the descendants of Hercules ; by which it appeared, that the Dentheliate field, where the temple stood, fell to the lot of the king of Messena. Inscriptions, verifying the fact, were still to be seen in stone and tables of brass. If fragments of poetry and loose scraps of history were to be admitted, they had, in that kind, a fund of evidence more ample, and directly in point. It was not by an act of violence that Philip of Macedon transferred the possession from Sparta to the Messenians ; his justice dictated that decision. Since that time, several judgments, all conspiring to the same effect, were pronounced by king Antigonus (*a*), by Mummius (*c*), the Roman general,

general, by the Milesians, in their capacity of public arbitrators, and finally by Atidius Geminus, then prætor of Achaia (*d*). The Messenians carried their point.

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The citizens of Segestum (*e*) presented a petition, stating that the Temple of Venus, on mount Erix, had mouldered away, and therefore praying leave to build a new edifice on the same spot. Their account of the first foundation was so highly flattering to the pride of Tiberius, that, considering himself as a person related to the goddess, he undertook the care and expence of the building.

A petition from the city of Marfeilles came next into debate. The fact was shortly this: Vulcatius Moschus, banished by the laws of Rome, and admitted to the freedom of the city of Marfeilles, bequeathed to that republic, which he considered as his native country, the whole of his property. To justify this proceeding, the Marfeillians cited the case of Publius Rutilius (*f*), an exile from Rome, and afterwards naturalized by the people of Smyrna. The authority of the precedent was admitted, and the fathers pronounced in favour of the will.

XLIV. IN the course of the year died Cneius Lentulus (*a*) and Lucius Domitius, two citizens of distinguished eminence. The consular dignity, and the honour of triumphal ornaments, for a complete victory over the Getulians, gave lustre to the name of Lentulus: but the true glory of his character arose from the dignity, with which he supported himself, first in modest poverty, and afterwards in the possession of a splendid fortune, acquired with integrity, and enjoyed with moderation. Domitius (*b*) owed much of his consequence to his ancestors. His father, during the civil wars, remained master of the seas till

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till he went over to Mark Anthony, and, soon after deserting his party, followed the fortunes of Augustus. His grandfather fell in the battle of Pharfalia, fighting for the senate. Domitius, thus descended, was deemed worthy of the younger Antonia, the daughter of Mark Anthony, by his wife Octavia. He led the Roman legions beyond the Elbe (*c*), and penetrated further into Germany than any former commander. His services were rewarded with triumphal ornaments.

Lucius Antonius (*d*), who likewise died this year, must not be omitted. He was descended from a line of ancestors, highly honoured, but unfortunate. His father, Julius Antonius, being put to death for his adulterous commerce with Julia, the son, at that time of tender years, and grand nephew to Augustus, was sent out of the way to the city of Marseilles, where, under the pretence of pursuing his studies, he was detained in actual banishment. Funeral honours were paid to his memory, and his remains, by a decree of the senate, were deposited in the monument of the Octavian family.

XLV. WHILE the same consuls continued in office, a deed of an atrocious nature was committed in the nethermost Spain (*a*) by a peasant from the district of Termes. Lucius Piso, the prætor of the province, in a period of profound peace, was travelling through the country, unguarded, and without precaution, when a desperate ruffian attacked him on the road, and, at one blow, laid him dead on the spot. Trusting to the swiftness of his horse, the assassin made towards the forest, and, there dismounting, pursued his way on foot over devious wilds and craggy steeps, eluding the vigilance and activity of the Romans. He did not, however, remain long concealed. His horse was found in the woods, and being led through the neighbouring villages, the
name

name of the owner was soon discovered. The villain of course was apprehended. On the rack, and under the most excruciating torture, he refused to discover his accomplices. With a tone of firmness, and in his own language, "Your questions," he said, "are all in vain. Let my associates come; let them behold my sufferings and my constancy: not all the pangs you can inflict, shall wrest the secret from me." On the following day, as they were again dragging him to the rack, he broke, with a sudden exertion, from the hands of the executioner, and dashing with violence against a stone, fell and expired. The murder of Piso was not thought to be the single crime of this bold assassin: the inhabitants of Termes, it was generally believed, entered into a conspiracy to cut off a man, who claimed restitution of the public money, which had been rescued from the collectors. Piso urged his demand with more rigour than suited the stubborn genius of a savage people.

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XLVI. LENTULUS GÆTULICUS and Caius Calvisius succeeded to the consulship. During their administration, triumphal ornaments were decreed to Poppæus Sabinus, for his victory over the people of Thrace; a clan of freebooters, who led a savage life on hills and rugged cliffs, without laws, or any notion of civil policy. Rushing down from their mountains, they waged a desultory war with wild ferocity. Their motives to a revolt were strong and powerful. They saw the flower of their youth carried off to recruit the Roman armies, and of course their numbers much reduced. Men, who measured their obedience, even to their own kings, by the mere caprice of Barbarians, were not willing to submit to the Roman yoke. On former occasions, when they were willing to act as auxiliaries, they gave the command of their forces to chiefs of their own nation, under an express condition, that they should serve against the

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the neighbouring states only, and not be obliged to fight the battles of Rome in distant regions. In the present juncture an idea prevailed amongst them, that they were to be exterminated from their native soil, and mixed with other troops in foreign nations.

Before they had recourse to arms, they sent a deputation to Sabinus, stating “ their former friendship, and the passive disposition with which they had, heretofore, submitted to the Roman generals. They were willing to continue in the same sentiments, provided no new grievance gave them cause of complaint. But if the intention was to treat them as a vanquished people ; if the yoke of slavery was prepared for their necks, they abounded with men and steel, and they had hearts devoted to liberty or death.” Their ambassadors, after thus declaring themselves, pointed to their castles on the ridge of hills and rocks, where they had collected their families, their parents, and their wives. If the sword must be drawn, they threatened a campaign big with danger, in its nature difficult, fierce, and bloody.

XLVII. SABINUS, wishing to gain sufficient time for the assembling of his army, amused them with gentle answers. Meanwhile, Pomponius Labeo, with a legion from Mæsia, and Rhæmetalces, who reigned over part of Thrace, came up with a body of his subjects, who still retained their fidelity, and formed a junction against the rebels. Sabinus, thus reinforced, went in quest of the enemy. The Barbarians had taken post in the woods and narrow defiles. The bold and warlike shewed themselves in force on the declivity of the hills. The Roman general advanced in regular order of battle. The mountaineers were put to flight, but with inconsiderable loss. The nature of the place favoured their

their retreat. Sabinus encamped on the spot deserted by the enemy, and, having raised entrenchments, marched with a strong detachment to an adjacent hill, narrow at the top, but, by a level and continued ridge, extending to a strong hold, where the Barbarians had collected a prodigious multitude, some provided with arms, but the greater part no better than an undisciplined rabble.

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The bravest of the malecontents appeared on the outside of their lines, according to the custom of Barbarians, dancing in wild distortion, and howling savage songs. The Roman archers advanced to attack them. They poured in a volley of darts, and wounded numbers with impunity, till, having approached too near, the besieged made a sally from the castle, and threw the Romans into disorder. An auxiliary cohort, which had been posted to advantage, came up to support the broken ranks. This body of reserve consisted of the Sicambrians (*a*), a wild ferocious people, who, like the Thracians, rushed to battle with the mingled uproar of a savage war-whoop, and the hideous clangor of their arms.

XLVIII. SABINUS pitched a new camp near the fortifications of the castle. In the former entrenchments he left the Thracians, who had joined the army under the command of Rhæmetalces, with orders to ravage the country, and, as long as daylight lasted, to plunder, burn, and destroy; but, during the night, to remain within their lines, taking care to station outposts and sentinels, to prevent a surprise. These directions were at first duly observed; but a relaxation of discipline soon took place. Enriched with booty, the men gave themselves up to riot and dissipation; no sentinels fixed, and no guard appointed, the time was spent in carousals, and their whole camp lay buried

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in sleep and wine. The mountaineers, having good intelligence from their scouts, formed two separate divisions; one to fall on the roving freebooters, and the other, in the same moment, to storm the Romans in their entrenchments; not, indeed, with hopes of carrying the works, but chiefly to spread a double alarm, and cause a scene of wild confusion, in which the men, amidst a volley of darts, would be intent on their own immediate danger, and none would listen to the uproar of another battle. To augment the terror, both assaults began in the night. No impression was made on the legions: but the Thracian auxiliaries, stretched at ease in their entrenchments, or idly wandering about on the outside of the lines, were taken by surprise, and put to the sword without mercy. The slaughter raged with greater fury, as the mountaineers thought they were executing an act of vengeance on perfidious men, who deserted the common cause, and fought to enslave themselves and their country.

XLIX. ON the following day Sabinus drew up his men on the open plain, expecting that the events of the preceding night would encourage the Barbarians to hazard a battle. Seeing that nothing could draw them from their works, or their fastnesses on the hills, he began a regular siege. A number of forts were thrown up with all expedition, and a fosse, with lines of circumvallation, inclosed a space of four miles round. To cut off all supplies of water and provisions, he advanced by degrees, and, raising new works, formed a close blockade on every side. From a high rampart the Romans were able to discharge a volley of stones, and darts, and firebrands. Thirst was the chief distress of the mountaineers. A single fountain was their only resource. The men who bore arms, and an infinite multitude incapable of service, were all involved in one general calamity. The distress was still increased by the famine that raged among the

3. horses

horses and cattle, which, without any kind of distinction, according to the custom of Barbarians, lay intermixed with the men. In one promiscuous heap were to be seen the carcases of animals, and the bodies of soldiers who perished by the sword, or the anguish of thirst. Clotted gore, and stench, and contagion filled the place. To complete their misery, internal discord, that worst of evils, added to the horror of the scene. Some were for laying down their arms; others, preferring self-destruction, proposed a general massacre; while a third party thought it better to fall out, and die sword in hand, fighting in the cause of liberty; a brave and generous counsel, different, indeed, from the advice of their comrades, but worthy of heroic minds.

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L. THE expedient of surrendering at discretion was adopted by one of the leading chiefs. His name was Dinis; a man advanced in years, and by long experience convinced as well of the clemency as the terror of the Roman name. To submit, he said, was their only remedy; and, accordingly, he threw himself, his wife, and children, on the mercy of the conqueror. He was followed by the weaker sex, and all who preferred slavery to a glorious death. Two other chiefs, by name Tarfa and Turesis, advised bolder measures. Between their opposite sentiments the young and vigorous were divided. To fall with falling liberty was the resolution of both; but they chose different modes. Tarfa declared for immediate death, the end of all hopes and fears; and, to lead the way, he plunged a poignard in his breast. Numbers followed his example. Turesis was still resolved to fall out; and, for that purpose, he waited for the advantage of the night. The Roman general received intelligence, and, accordingly, strengthened the guards at every post. Night came on, and brought with it utter darkness and tem-

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pestuous weather. With shouts and horrible howlings, followed at intervals by a profound and awful silence, the Barbarians kept the besiegers in a constant alarm. Sabinus rounded the watch, and at every post exhorted his men to be neither terrified by savage howlings, nor lulled into security by deceitful stillness. If taken by surprise, they would give to an insidious enemy every advantage. "Let each man continue fixed at his post, " and let no darts be thrown at random, and, by consequence, " without effect."

LI. THE Barbarians, in different divisions, came rushing down from their hills. With massy stones, with clubs hardened by fire, and with trunks of trees, they attempted to batter a breach in the Roman palisade; they threw hurdles, faggots, and dead bodies into the trenches; they laid bridges over the fosse, and applied scaling ladders to the rampart; they grasped hold of the works; they endeavoured to force their way, and fought hand to hand. The garrison drove them back with their javelins, beat them down with their bucklers, and overwhelmed them with huge heaps of stones. Both sides fought with obstinate bravery; the Romans, to complete a victory almost gained already, and to avoid the disgrace of suffering it to be wrested from them. On the part of the Barbarians, despair was courage; the last struggle for life inspired them, and the shrieks of their wives and mothers roused them to deeds of valour.

The darkness of the night favoured equally the coward and the brave. Blows were given at random, and where they fell was uncertain; wounds were received, no man could tell from whom. Friends and enemies were mixed without distinction. The shouts of the Barbarians, reverberated from the neighbouring

bouring hills, founded in the ear of the Romans, as if the uproar was at their backs. They thought the enemy had stormed the entrenchments, and they fled from their posts. The Barbarians, however, were not able to force the works. The number that entered was inconsiderable. At the dawn of day they beheld a melancholy spectacle; the bravest of their comrades either disabled by their wounds, or lying dead on the spot. Disheartened at the fight, they fled to their fortifications, and were at last compelled to surrender at discretion. The people in the neighbourhood made a voluntary submission. The few that still held out, were protected by the severity of the winter, which setting in, as is usual near Mount Hæmus, with intense rigour, the Roman general could neither attack them in their fastnesses, nor reduce them by a siege.

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LII. AT Rome, in the mean time, the imperial family was thrown into a state of distraction. As a prelude to the fate of Agrippina, a prosecution was commenced against Claudia Pulchra, her near relation. Domitius Afer (*a*) was the prosecutor; a man who had lately discharged the office of prætor, but had not risen to any degree of eminence or consideration in the state. Aspiring, bold, and turbulent, he was now determined to advance himself by any means, however flagitious. The heads of his accusation were adultery with Furnius; a design to poison the emperor, and the secret practice of spells and magic incantations. The haughty spirit of Agrippina but ill could brook the danger of her friend. She rushed to the presence of Tiberius. Finding him in the act of offering a sacrifice to the manes of Augustus, she accosted him in a tone of vehemence. "The piety," she said, "which thus employs itself in slaying victims to the deceased emperor, agrees but ill with the hatred that persecutes his posterity. Those are senseless statues which you adore; they are not ani-

" mated.

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“mated with the spirit of Augustus. His descendants are living
“images of him; and yet even they, whose veins are warm with
“his celestial blood, stand trembling on the brink of peril. Why
“is Claudia Pulchra devoted to destruction? What has she com-
“mitted? She has loved Agrippina, to excess has loved her; that
“is her only crime. Improvident woman! she might have re-
“membered Sofia (*b*), undone and ruined for no other reason.”
Tiberius felt the reproach: it drew from that inscrutable breast a
sudden burst of resentment. He told Agrippina, in a Greek
verse, “You are hurt, because you do not reign (*c*).” Pulchra
and Furnius were both condemned. In the conduct of the pro-
secution Domitius Afer shone forth with such a flame of eloquence,
that he ranked at once with the most celebrated orators, and, by
the suffrage of Tiberius, was pronounced an original genius, de-
pending on his own native energy. From that time, he pursued
the career of eloquence, sometimes engaged on the side of the
accused, often against them, and always doing more honour to
his talents, than to his moral character. As age advanced upon
him, the love of hearing himself talk continued, when the ability
was gone (*d*.) He remained, with decayed faculties, a superannu-
ated orator.

LIII. AGRIPPINA, weakened by a fit of illness, but still re-
taining the pride of her character, received a visit from Tiberius.
She remained for some time fixed in silence; tears only forced
their way. At length, in terms of supplication, mixed with bit-
ter reproaches, she desired him to consider, “that widowhood
“is a state of destitution. A second marriage might assuage her
“sorrows. The season of her youth was not entirely passed, and
“for a woman of honour there was no resource but in the con-
“jugal state. There were at Rome citizens of illustrious rank,
“who would, with pride, take the widow and the children of
“Ger-

“Germanicus to their protection.” Tiberius saw in this request a spirit of ambition, that looked proudly towards the imperial dignity. Unwilling, notwithstanding, to discover his jealousy, he heard her with calm indifference, and left her without an answer: For this anecdote, not to be found in the historians of the time, I am indebted to the younger Agrippina (*a*), the mother of the emperor Nero, who, in the memoirs of her life, has related her own misfortunes and those of her family.

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LIV. THE violence of Agrippina's passions, and the imprudence of her conduct, exposed her to the malice of Sejanus, who now had laid the seed-plots of her destruction. He sent his agents to inform her, under a mask of friendship, that she would do well to beware of poison, and avoid eating at the emperor's table. To dissemble was not the talent of Agrippina. Invited by Tiberius, and placed near his person, she remained silent, pensive, with downcast eyes, abstaining from every thing placed before her. Tiberius marked her behaviour, or perhaps the hint was previously given. To put her to the test, he praised the apples that stood near him, and helped her with his own hand. Agrippina was alarmed. Without so much as tasting the fruit, she gave it to the servants to be conveyed away (*a*). Tiberius, always master of himself, with seeming inadvertence overlooked her behaviour, but took an opportunity to say privately to his mother, “Should this woman be treated with severity, will any body wonder, when she now imputes to me the guilt of dealing in poison?” A report prevailed soon after, that the fate of Agrippina was determined; but the emperor would not venture to act with open violence: he knew that the public eye was upon him, and resolved, for that reason, to lie in wait for a clandestine murder.

LV.. To check the murmurs of suspicion, and draw the public attention

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attention to other objects, Tiberius once more attended the debates of the fathers, and gave audience for several days to the ambassadors from different parts of Asia, all with ardour claiming a right to build, in their respective territories, the temple already mentioned. Eleven cities rivalled each other, not in power and opulence, but with equal zeal contending for the preference. They stated, with little variation, the antiquity of their origin, and their fidelity to Rome, in the various wars with Perſius (*a*), Ariſtonicus, and other eaſtern princes. The people of Hypæpes (*b*), the Trallians, Laodiceans, and Magnefians, were deemed unequal to the expence, and, for that reaſon, thrown out of the caſe. The inhabitants of Ilium (*c*) boaſted that Troy was the cradle of the Roman people, and on that foundation reſted their pretenſions. The citizens of Halicarnaffus (*d*) held the ſenate for ſome time in ſuſpenſe. It was alleged on their behalf, that, during a ſeries of twelve hundred years, they had not felt the ſhock of an earthquake, and they promiſed to build the edifice on a ſolid rock. The city of Pergamus made a merit of having already built a temple in honour of Auguſtus; but that diſtinction was deemed ſufficient. At Ephelus, where Diana was adored, and at Miletus, where Apollo was worſhipped, a new object of veneration was deemed unneceſſary.

The queſtion was now reduced to the cities of Sardes and Smyrna. The former read a decree, in which they were acknowledged by the Etrurians as a kindred nation. By this document it appeared, that Tyrrhenus and Lydus, both ſons of king Atys (*e*), finding their country overſtocked with inhabitants, agreed to form a ſeparation. Lydus continued to occupy his native territory, and Tyrrhenus withdrew to ſettle a new colony. From that time the two nations were called by the names of their reſpective chiefs; in Asia, Lydians; Tyrrhenians in Italy. The
Lydians

Lydians multiplied their numbers with such increase, that they overflowed a second time. A migration passed over into Greece, and from Pelops, their leader, gave to the new territory the name of Peloponnesus. Besides these vouchers, the people of Sardes produced letters from some of the Roman generals, and also treaties of alliance during the wars in Macedonia. Nor did they forget to state the number of rivers that fertilized their soil, the temperature of their climate, and the plenty that covered the face of the country.

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LVI. THE deputies from Smyrna (*a*) thought fit to grace their cause with the antiquity of their origin: but whether their city was founded by Tantalus, the son of Jupiter; by Theseus, the son of a god; or by one of the ancient Amazons, they left as a question of curiosity; relying more on their constant attachment to the Romans, whom they had assisted with a naval force, not only in their wars with foreign nations, but in those that involved all Italy. They thought it of moment to observe, that, of all the cities in Asia, they were the first that built a temple in honour of the Roman name. This they had done in the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato (*b*), at a time when the republic was undoubtedly in a flourishing condition, but had not yet attained that meridian splendor, which afterwards followed the success of her arms. Carthage (*c*) still subsisted, and the kings of Asia were unsubdued. For proof of still greater merit, the deputies appealed to the testimony of Lucius Sylla. When the legions under that commander, well nigh reduced to a famine by the severity of the winter, and distressed for want of clothing, were in danger of being destroyed, their condition was no sooner known at Smyrna, than the people, then assembled in a public convention, with one generous impulse, threw off their clothes, and sent them to supply the necessities of the Roman army. The question was

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thereupon put by the senate, and the city of Smyrna prevailed. Vibius Marfus moved, that, in aid to Marcus Lepidus, who had obtained the province by lot, an officer extraordinary should be put in commission, to superintend the building of the temple. The delicacy of Lepidus not permitting him to choose his coadjutor, the names of such as were of prætorian rank were drawn by lot, and the chance fell on Valerius Nafus.

LVII. IN this juncture, Tiberius, bent on the measure which he had often ruminated, and as often procrastinated, set out for Campania, under the plausible pretence of dedicating a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and another to Augustus at Nola, but, in truth, determined never to return to Rome. Relying on the authority of eminent historians, I have ascribed the secret cause of this retreat to the artifice of Sejanus (*a*); but when it is considered, that, after the downfall of that minister, Tiberius passed the six following years in the same recluse manner, I am inclined to refer the whole to the workings of a dark and politic spirit, that wished to hide in solitude the lust and cruelty, which in his actions were too manifest to the world. At Rome there was a current opinion, that, towards the end of life, he was unwilling to exhibit to public view a tall emaciated figure (*b*), a body sinking under the weight of years, a bald head, a scrofulous face, and a number of blotches covered with medical applications (*c*). It is well known, that, during his retreat at the Isle of Rhodes, he shunned society, and passed his time in secret gratifications. According to some writers, it was the domineering spirit (*d*) of his mother that drove him from Rome. To admit her to a share in the government was not in his nature; and to exclude her altogether was not in his power, since it was to her that he owed his elevation. Augustus, it is certain, at one point of time, favoured Germanicus, the grandson of his sister, and even thought of raising him to the supreme authority;

authority; but, being governed by his wife, he gave her son the preference, and left Germanicus to be adopted by Tiberius. With these services Livia taxed her son, and what she had given, she considered as a deposit liable to be resumed.

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LVIII. TIBERIUS departed from Rome with a slender retinue. In his train were Cocceius Nerva (*a*), a senator of consular rank, celebrated for his legal knowledge; Sejanus, the favourite minister; and Curtius Atticus (*b*), a Roman knight. These were the only persons of rank. The rest were distinguished by nothing but their literature; mostly Greeks (*c*), men whose talents amused him in his hours of leisure. The professors of judicial astrology declared their opinion, that the position of the planets, under which Tiberius left the capital, made his return impossible. This prediction gained credit, and the death of the emperor being, by consequence, thought near at hand, numbers, who had been bold enough to circulate the rumour, brought on their own destruction. That the prince should remain, during the space of eleven years, a voluntary exile from the seat of government, was an event beyond the reach of human foresight. In the end, however, the art of such, as pretend to see into futurity, was discovered to be vain and frivolous. It was seen how nearly truth and falsehood are allied, and how much the facts, which happen to be foretold, are involved in darkness. That Tiberius would return no more, was a prophecy verified by the event; the rest was altogether visionary, since we find, that, long after that time, he appeared in the neighbourhood of Rome, sometimes on the adjacent shore, often in the suburbs, and died at last in the extremity of old age.

LIX. WHILE the reports of the astrologers were scattered abroad, an accident, which put Tiberius in danger of his life, added to the credulity of the people, but, at the same time, raised

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Sejanus higher than ever in the affections and esteem of his master. It happened, that in a cave formed by nature, at a villa called SPELUNCA (*a*), between the Gulf of Amyclé and the hills of FONDI, Tiberius was at a banquet with a party of his friends, when the stones at the entrance gave way on a sudden, and crushed some of the attendants. The guests were alarmed, and fled for safety. Sejanus, to protect his master, fell on his knee, and with his whole force sustained the impending weight. In that attitude he was found by the soldiers, who came to relieve the prince. From that time the power of the minister knew no bounds. A man, who, in the moment of danger, could shew so much zeal for his master, and so little attention to himself, was heard with affection and unlimited confidence. His counsels, however pernicious, were received as the dictates of truth and honour.

Towards the children of Germanicus, Sejanus affected to act with the integrity of a judge, while in secret he was their inveterate enemy. He suborned a band of accusers; and Nero, then presumptive heir to the empire, was the first devoted victim. The young prince, unhackneyed in the ways of men, modest in his deportment, and in his manners amiable, had not the prudence that knows how to temporize and bend to occasions. The freedmen, and others about his person, eager to grasp at power, encouraged him to act with firmness, and a spirit suited to his rank. Such behaviour, they told him, would gratify the wishes of the people; the army desired it, and the pride of Sejanus would soon be crest-fallen, though at present he triumphed over the worn-out faculties of a superannuated emperor, and the careless disposition of a young and inexperienced prince.

LX. ROUSED by these discourses, Nero began to throw off
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all reserve. Guilt was foreign to his heart; but expressions of resentment fell from him, inconsiderate, rash, and unguarded. His words were caught up by spies about his person, and reported with aggravation. Against the malice of insidious men the prince had no opportunity to defend himself. He lived in constant anxiety, and every day brought some new alarm. Some of the domestics avoided his presence; others paid a formal salute, and coldly passed away; the greatest part entered into talk, and abruptly broke off the conversation; while the creatures of Sejanus, affecting to be free and easy, added mockery to their arrogance.

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The emperor received the prince with a stern countenance, or an ambiguous smile. Whether Nero spoke, or suppressed his thoughts, every word was misconstrued, and even silence was a crime. The night itself gave him no respite from his cares, no retreat from danger. His waking moments, his repose, his sighs, his very dreams informed against him: his wife (*a*) carried the tale to her mother Livia, and the last whispered every thing to Sejanus. By that dark politician even Drusus, the brother of Nero, was drawn into the conspiracy. To dazzle the imagination of a stripling, the splendor of empire, and the sure succession, when the ruin of the elder brother was completed, were held forth as bright temptations. The spirit of contention, common between brothers, was with Drusus an additional motive; and the partiality of Agrippina for her eldest son inflamed a young man, who was by nature violent and ambitious. Sejanus, in the mean time, while he seemed to cherish Drusus, was busily employed in schemes to undermine him. He knew the haughty temper of the prince, and from the violence of his passions expected to derive every advantage.

LXI. TOWARDS the end of the year died two illustrious citizens (*a*), Asinius Aprippa, and Quintus Haterius. The former

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was of an honourable but not ancient family. His own character reflected lustre on his ancestors. Haterius (*b*) was descended from a race of senators. His eloquence, while he lived, was in the highest celebrity; but his writings, published since his death, are not regarded as monuments of genius. Warm, and rapid, he succeeded more through happiness than care. Diligence and depth of thinking, which give the last finishing to other works, and stamp their value with posterity, were not the talent of Haterius. His flowing period, and that harmonious cadence, which charmed in the living orator, are now no longer heard. His page remains a dead letter, without grace or energy.

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LXII. IN the next consulship, which was that of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnius, an unforeseen disaster, no sooner begun than ended, laid a scene of ruin equal to the havoc of the most destructive war. A man of the name of Atilius, the son of a freedman, undertook at Fidenæ (*a*) to build an amphitheatre for the exhibition of gladiators. The foundation was slight, and the superstructure not sufficiently braced; the work of a man, who had neither the pride of wealth, nor the ambition to make himself of consequence in a municipal town. The profit that might probably arise from such a scheme, was all he had in view. The people, under the austerity of a rigid and unsocial government deprived of their usual diversions, were eager for the novelty of a public spectacle (*b*); and the place being at no great distance from Rome, a vast conflux of men and women, old and young, crowded together. The consequence was, that the building, overloaded with spectators, gave way at once. All who were under the roof, besides a prodigious multitude that stood round the place, were crushed under the ruins. The condition of those who perished instantly, was the happiest. They escaped the pangs of death, while the maimed and lacerated lingered in torment, beholding,

as

as long as day-light lasted, their wives and children in equal agony, and, during the night, pierced to the heart by their shrieks and groans. A calamity so fatal was soon known round the country. Crowds from all quarters went to view the melancholy scene. One lamented a brother, another his near relation; children wept for their parents, and almost all for their friends. Such as by their avocations had been led a different way, were given up for lost. The real sufferers were still unknown, and, in that dreadful state of suspense, every bosom panted with doubt and fear.

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LXIII. THE ruins were no sooner removed, than the crowd rushed in to examine the place. They gathered round the dead bodies; they clasped them in their arms; they imprinted kisses, and often mistook the person. Disfigured faces, parity of age, and similitude of form and feature, occasioned great confusion. Claims were made, a tender contest followed, and errors were acknowledged. The number of killed or maimed was not less than fifty thousand *a*). The senate provided by a decree, that, for the future, no man, whose fortune was under four hundred thousand sesterces, should presume to exhibit a spectacle of gladiators, and that, till the foundation was examined, no amphitheatre should be erected. Atilius, the builder, was condemned to banishment. The grandees of Rome displayed their humanity on this occasion: they threw open their doors; they ordered medicines to be distributed, and the physicians attended with assiduity in every quarter. The city of Rome recalled, in that juncture, an image of ancient manners, when, after a battle bravely fought, the sick and wounded were received with open arms, and relieved by the generosity of their country.

LXIV. WHILE the public mind was still bleeding for the late calamity,

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calamity, a dreadful fire laid waste a great part of the city. Mount Cælius (*a*) was reduced to ashes. The populace began to murmur. The year, they said, was big with disasters, and the prince departed from Rome under an evil constellation. Such is the logic of the multitude: what happens by chance, they impute to design. To appease their discontent, Tiberius ordered a distribution of money in proportion to the damage of individuals. For this act of liberality, the senate passed a vote of thanks, and the people were loud in praise of munificence, so seasonably applied, and granted indiscriminately. No man had occasion to make interest; it was enough that he was a sufferer. The fathers came to a resolution, that Mount Cælius, where a statue of Tiberius, in the house of Junius the senator, escaped the fury of the flames, should for the future be called Mount AUGUSTUS. A prodigy of a similar nature happened in ancient times. The statue (*b*) of Claudia Quinctia was saved twice from a general conflagration, and, on that account, placed and dedicated in the temple of the mother of the gods. The Claudian family was ever after considered as peculiarly favoured by heaven, and the spot where the gods were lately so propitious to Tiberius, was declared to be consecrated ground.

LXV. It will not perhaps be improper to mention in this place, that the mount, of which we have been speaking, was, in the early ages of Rome, covered with a grove of oaks, and for that reason called QUERQUETULANUS. It took afterwards the name of Cælius from Cæles Vibenna, an Etrurian chief, who marched at the head of his countrymen, to assist the Romans, and for that service had the spot assigned to him as a canton for himself and his people. Whether this was the act of Tarquinius Priscus, or some other Roman king, is not settled by the historians. Thus much is certain; the number transplanted was so great,

great, that their new habitation extended from the mount along the plain beneath, as far as the spot where the forum stands at present. From those settlers the TUSCAN STREET derives its name (*a*).

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LXVI. THOUGH the sufferings of the people, in their late distresses, were alleviated by the bounty of the prince, and the humanity of the great, there was still an evil, against which no remedy could be found. The crew of informers rose in credit every day, and covered the city with consternation. Quintilius Varus (*a*), the son of Claudia Pulchra, and nearly related to the emperor, was marked out as a victim. His large possessions tempted Domitius Afer, who had already ruined the mother. The blow now aimed at the son, was no more than was expected from a man, who had lived in indigence, and, having squandered the wages of his late iniquity, was ready to find a new quarry for his avarice. But that a man like Publius Dolabella, nobly descended, and related to Varus, should become an instrument in the destruction of his own family, was matter of wonder. The senate stopped the progress of the mischief. They resolved that the cause should stand over till the emperor's return to Rome. Procrastination was the only refuge of the unhappy.

LXVII. TIBERIUS, in the mean time, dedicated the two temples in Campania, which served him as a pretext for quitting the city of Rome. That business finished, he issued an edict, warning the neighbouring cities not to intrude upon his privacy. For better security, he placed a guard at proper stations, to prevent all access to his person. These precautions, however, did not content him. Hating the municipal towns, weary of the colonies, and sick of every thing on the continent, he passed over to Capreæ (*a*), a small island, separated from the promontory of Sur-

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rentum by an arm of the sea, not more than three miles broad. Defended there from all intrusion, and delighted with the solitude of the place, he sequestered himself from the world, seeing, as may be imagined, many circumstances suited to his humour. Not a single port in the channel; the stations but few, and those accessible only to small vessels; no part of the island, where men could land unobserved (*b*) by the sentinels; the climate inviting; in the winter, a soft and genial air, under the shelter of a mountain, that repels the inclemency of the winds; in the summer, the heat allayed by the western breeze; the sea presenting a smooth expanse, and opening a view of the bay of Naples, with a beautiful landscape on its borders: all these conspired to please the taste and genius of Tiberius. The scene, indeed, has lost much of its beauty, the fiery eruptions of Mount Vesuvius (*c*) having, since that time, changed the face of the country.

If we may believe an old tradition, a colony from Greece was formerly settled on the opposite coast of Italy, and the Teleboi were in possession of the isle of Capræ. Be that as it may, Tiberius chose for his residence twelve different villas (*d*), all magnificent and well fortified. Tired of public business, he now resigned himself to his favourite gratifications, amidst his solitary vices still engendering mischief. The habit of nourishing dark suspicions, and believing every whisperer, still adhered to him. At Rome Sejanus knew how to practise on such a temper; but in this retreat he governed him with unbounded influence. Having gained the ascendant, he thought it time to fall on Agrippina and her son Nero, not, as heretofore, with covered malice, but with open and avowed hostility. He gave them a guard, under colour of attending their persons, but in fact to be spies on their actions. Every circumstance was noted; their public and their private discourse, their messengers, their visitors, all were closely watched,

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and a journal kept of petty occurrences. The agents of Sejanus, by order of their master, advised them both to fly for protection to the German army, or to take sanctuary under the statue of Augustus in the public forum, and there implore the protection of the senate and the people. The advice was rejected; but the project, as if their own, and ripe for execution, was imputed to them as a crime.

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LXVIII. JUNIUS SILANUS and Silius Nerva were the next consuls. The year began with a transaction of the blackest dye. Titius Sabinus (*a*), a Roman knight of high distinction, was seized with violence, and dragged to prison. His steady attachment to the house of Germanicus was his only crime. After the death of that unfortunate prince, he continued firm to Agrippina and her children; at her house a constant visitor; in public a sure attendant, and, of the whole number that formerly paid their court, the only friend at last. His constancy was applauded by every honest mind, and censured by the vile and profligate. Four men of prætorian rank entered into a conspiracy to work his ruin. Their names were Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and Marcus Opius. They had all attained the prætorian rank, and now aspired to the consulship. The road to that dignity, they knew, was open to none but the creatures of Sejanus, and to the favour of that minister guilt was the only recommendation. The conspirators settled among themselves, that Latiaris, who had some connection with Sabinus, should undertake to lay the snare, while the rest lay in wait for evidence, determined, as soon as their materials were collected, to begin their scene of iniquity, and stand forth as witnesses.

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Latiaris accordingly made his approaches to Sabinus: he talked at first on trite and common topics, artfully making a transition

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to the fidelity of Sabinus, who did not, like others, follow the fortunes of a noble house, while fortune smiled, and, in the hour of adversity, found his retreat with the rest of the sneaking train. He made honourable mention of Germanicus, and spoke of Agrippina in pathetic terms. Sabinus, with a mind enfeebled by misfortunes, and now softened by compassion, burst into a flood of tears. To emotions of tenderness resentment succeeded. He talked, with indignation, of the cruelty of Sejanus, of his pride, his arrogance, and his daring ambition. The emperor himself did not escape. From this time, like men who had unbosomed their secrets to each other, Latiaris and Sabinus joined in the closest union. They cultivated each other's friendship. Sabinus sought the company of his new confederate; he frequented his house, and without reserve, in the fullest confidence, disclosed his inmost thoughts.

LXIX. THE conspirators held it necessary, that the conversation of Sabinus should be heard by more than one. A place for this purpose, secure and solitary, was to be chosen. To listen behind doors, were to hazard a discovery; they might be seen, or overheard, or some trifling accident might give the alarm. The scene of action at length was fixed. They chose the cavity between the roof of the house and the ceiling of the room. In that vile lurking hole, with an execrable design, three Roman senators lay concealed, their ears applied to chinks and crannies, listening to conversation, and by fraud collecting evidence. To complete this plan of iniquity, Latiaris met Sabinus in the street, and, under pretence of communicating secret intelligence, decoyed him to the house, and to the very room where the infamous evesdroppers lay in ambush. In that recess Latiaris entered into conversation; he recalled past grievances; he stated recent calamities, and opened a train of evils still to come. Sabinus went over the same ground,

ground, more animated than before, and more in the detail. When griefs, which have been long pent up, once find a vent, men love to discharge the load that weighs upon the heart. From the materials thus collected, the conspirators drew up an accusation in form, and sent it to the emperor, with a memorial, to their own disgrace and infamy, setting forth the whole of their conduct. Rome was never at any period so distracted with anxiety and terror. Men were afraid of knowing each other; society was at a pause; relations, friends, and strangers, stood at gaze; no public meeting, no private confidence; things inanimate had ears, and roofs and walls were deemed informers.

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LXX. ON the calends of January, Tiberius dispatched a letter to the senate, in which, after expressing, as usual in the beginning of the year, his prayers and vows for the commonwealth, he fell with severity on Sabinus. He charged him with a plot against his sovereign, and with corrupting, for that purpose, several of the imperial freedmen. He concluded in terms neither dark nor ambiguous, demanding vengeance on the offender. Judgment of death was pronounced accordingly. Sabinus (*a*) was seized, and dragged through the streets to immediate execution. Muffled in his robe, his voice almost stifled, he presented to the gazing multitude a tragic spectacle. He cried out with what power of utterance he could, "Behold the
"bloody opening of the year! With victims like myself Sejanus
"must be glutted!" He continued to struggle and throw his eyes around. Wherever he looked, to whatever side he directed his voice, the people shrunk back dismayed; they fled, they disappeared; the public places and the forum were abandoned; the streets became a desert. In their confusion some returned to the same spot, as if willing to behold the horrid
scene,

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scene, alarmed for themselves, and dreading the crime of being terrified.

The general murmur was, “ Will there never be a day unpolluted with blood? Amidst the rites and ceremonies of a season sacred to religion, when all business is at a stand, and the use of prophane words is by law prohibited, we hear the clank of chains; we see the halter, and the murder of a fellow-citizen. The innovation, monstrous as it is, is a deliberate act, the policy of Tiberius. He means to make cruelty systematic. By this unheard-of outrage, he gives public notice to the magistrates, that, on the first day of the year, they are to open, not only the temples and the altars, but also the dungeons and the charnel-house.” Tiberius, in a short time after, sent dispatches to the senate, commending the zeal of the fathers in bringing to condign punishment an enemy of the state. He added, that his life was embittered with anxiety, and the secret machinations of insidious enemies kept him in a constant alarm. Though he mentioned no one by name, his malice was understood to glance at Nero and Agrippina.

LXXI. THE plan of this work professes to give the transactions of the year in chronological order. If that rule did not restrain me, I should here be tempted to anticipate the time, and, to gratify indignation, relate the vengeance that overtook Latiaris (*a*), Opfius, and the other actors in that horrible tragedy. Some of them were reserved for the reign of Caligula; but, even in the present period, the sword of justice was not suffered to remain inactive. The fact was, Tiberius made it a rule to protect his instruments of cruelty; but it was also in his nature to be satiated with the arts of flagitious men: new tools of corruption

ruption lifted in his service; and his former agents, worn out in guilt, neglected and despised, were cashiered at once, and left to the resentment of their enemies. But I forbear; the punishment that befel the murderers of Sabinus, and other miscreants equally detestable, shall be seen in its proper place.

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The emperor's letter above mentioned being read in the senate, Asinius Gallus (*b*), whose sons were nephews to Agrippina, moved an address, requesting the prince to reveal his secret disquietude, that the wisdom of the fathers might remove all cause of complaint. Dissimulation was the darling practice of Tiberius, and he placed it in the rank of virtues. Hating detection, and jealous of prying eyes, he was now enraged against the man who seemed to have fathomed his latent meaning. Sejanus appeased his anger, not out of friendship to Gallus, but to leave Tiberius to the workings of his own gloomy temper. The favourite had studied the genius of his master. He knew that he could think with phlegm, slow to resolve, yet gathering rancour, and, in the end, sure to break out with fiercer vengeance.

About this time died Julia (*c*), the grand-daughter of Augustus, during that prince's reign convicted of adultery, and banished to the isle of Trimetus (*d*), near the coast of Apulia. At that place she languished in exile during a space of three-and-twenty years, a wretched dependant on the bounty of Livia, who first cut off the grandsons of Augustus, in their day of splendour, and then made a shew of compassion for the rest of the family, who were suffered to survive in misery.

LXXII. IN the course of this year the Frisians, a people dwelling beyond the Rhine (*a*), broke out into open acts of hostility. The cause of the insurrection was not the restless spirit

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spirit of a nation impatient of the yoke; they were driven to despair by Roman avarice. A moderate tribute, such as suited the poverty of the people, consisting of raw hides for the use of the legions, had been formerly imposed by Drusus^(b). To specify the exact size and quality of the hide was an idea that never entered into the head of any man, till Olennius, the first centurion of a legion, being appointed governor over the Frisians, collected a quantity of the hides of forest bulls^(c), and made them the standard both of weight and dimension. To any other nation this would have been a grievous burthen, but was altogether impracticable in Germany, where the cattle, running wild in large tracts of forest, are of prodigious size, while the breed for domestic uses is remarkably small. The Frisians groaned under this oppressive demand. They gave up first their cattle, next their lands; and finally were obliged to see their wives and children carried into slavery by way of commutation. Discontent and bitter resentment filled the breasts of injured men. They applied for redress, but without effect. In despair they took up arms; they seized the tax-gatherers, and hung them upon gibbets. Olennius made his escape. He fled for refuge to a castle known by the name of FLEVUM^(d), at that time garrisoned by a strong party of Romans and auxiliaries, who were stationed in that quarter for the defence of the country bordering on the German Ocean.

LXXIII. INTELLIGENCE of this revolt no sooner reached Lucius Apronius, at that time proprætor of the Lower Germany, than he drew together from the Upper Rhine a detachment of the legionary veterans, with the flower of the allied horse and infantry. Having now two armies, he sailed down the Rhine, and made a descent on the territory of the Frisians, then employed in a close blockade of Flevum castle. To defend their country

father of Germani

country against the invaders, the Barbarians thought proper, on the approach of the Romans, to abandon the siege. The æstuaries in that country, formed by the influx of the sea, are a grand obstacle to military operations. Apronius ordered bridges to be prepared, and causeways to be thrown over the marshes. Meanwhile, the fords and shallows being discovered, he sent the cavalry of the Caninefates (*a*) and the German infantry that served under him, with orders to pass over, and take post in the rear of the enemy. The Frisians, drawn up in order of battle, gave them a warm reception. The whole detachment, with the legionary horse sent to support the ranks, was put to the rout. Apronius dispatched three light cohorts; two more followed, and, in a short time, the whole cavalry of the auxiliaries; a force sufficient, had they made one joint attack; but coming up in separate divisions, and at different times, they were neither able to rally the broken ranks, nor, in the general panic, to make head against the enemy.

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In this distress, Cethegus Labeo, who commanded the fifth legion, received orders to advance with the remainder of the allies. That officer soon found himself pressed on every side. He sent messenger after messenger to call forth the whole strength of the army. His own legion, being the fifth; rushed forward to his assistance. A sharp engagement followed. The Barbarians, at length, gave ground; and the auxiliary cohorts, faint with fatigue, and disabled by their wounds, were rescued from the sword of the enemy. The Roman general neither pursued the fugitives, nor staid to bury the slain, though a number of tribunes and officers of rank, with centurions of distinguished bravery, lay dead on the field of battle. By deserters intelligence was afterwards brought, that no less than nine hundred Romans were surrounded in the forest called BADUHENNA (*b*), and

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after a gallant defence, which lasted till the dawn of day, were to a man cut to pieces. Another body, consisting of no less than four hundred, threw themselves into a strong mansion belonging to Cruptorix, a German chief, who had formerly served in the Roman army: but this whole party, afraid of treachery, and dreading nothing so much as being delivered into the hands of the enemy, turned their swords against each other, and perished by mutual slaughter.

LXXIV. THE name of the Frisians was, by consequence, celebrated throughout Germany. Tiberius, with his usual closeness, endeavoured to conceal the loss, aware that a war would call for a new commander, and that important trust he was unwilling to commit to any person whatever. As to the senate; events that happened on the remote frontiers of the empire, made little impression on that assembly. Domestic grievances were more interesting: every man trembled for himself, and flattery was his only resource. With this spirit the fathers, at a time when matters of moment demanded their attention, made it their first business to decree an altar to Clemency, and another to Friendship; both to be decorated with the statues of Tiberius and Sejanus. They voted, at the same time, an humble address, requesting that the prince and his minister would condescend to shew themselves to the people of Rome. Neither of them entered the city, nor even approached the suburbs. To leave their island on a sailing party, and exhibit themselves on the coast of Campania, was a sufficient favour.

To enjoy that transient view, all degrees and orders of men, the senators, the Roman knights, and the populace, pressed forward in crowds. The favourite attracted the attention of all, but was difficult of access. To gain admission to his presence

was

was the work of cabal, intrigue, or connection in guilt. Sejanus felt his natural arrogance inflamed and pampered by a scene of fervility so openly displayed before him. He saw a whole people crouching in bondage. At Rome the infamy was not so visible. In a great and populous city, where all are in motion, the sycophant may creep unnoticed to pay his homage. In a vast conflux, numbers are constantly passing and repassing; but their business, their pursuits, whence they come, and whither they are going, no man knows. On the margin of the sea the case was different. Without distinction of rank, the nobles and the populace lay in the fields, or on the shore, humbly waiting, night and day, to court the smiles of the porter at the great man's gate, or to bear the insolence of slaves in office. Even that importunity was at length prohibited. The whole herd returned to Rome; some, who had not been honoured with a word or a smile, sinking into the lowest dejection of spirits; others elate with joy, for they had seen the favourite, and did not then suspect how soon that fatal connection was to overwhelm them all in ruin.

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LXXV. THE year closed with the marriage of Agrippina (*a*), one of the daughters of Germanicus. Tiberius gave her away in person to Cneius Domitius (*b*), but ordered the nuptial ceremony to be performed at Rome. Domitius was descended from a splendid line of ancestors, and, besides, allied to the house of Cæsar. He was the grandson of Octavia, and of course grand nephew to Augustus. By this consideration Tiberius was determined in his choice.

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CONTENTS OF BOOK V.

- I. *THE death and character of the empress Livia.* II. *Tiberius grows more oppressive than ever, and Sejanus rises to greater power.* III. *Tiberius, by a letter to the senate, accuses Agrippina and her son Nero. The populace in a tumultuous manner surround the senate-house. The fathers proceed no farther in the business. Sejanus incensed against their conduct.* V. *Tiberius writes in an angry style to the senate, and reserves the affair of Agrippina for his own judgment. The apology of the senate.*

In this place a chasm of near three years : the supplement begins with the section marked with figures, instead of the Roman numeral letters.

1. *Designs of Sejanus against Agrippina and Nero.* 2. *Violent prosecutions : Tiberius violent against all the friends of his mother.* 3. *Tranquillity through all the Roman provinces.* 4. *Remarkable letter from Tiberius to the senate.* 5. *Agrippina and Nero voted public enemies. Both taken into custody. She is confined near Herculaneum. A centurion beats out her eye. She is banished to Pandataria, and Nero to Pontia, where he is put to death.* 6. *Sejanus plots the ruin of Drusus, the second son of Germanicus. He seduces Æmilia Lepida to join him against her husband.* 7. *Drusus made a prisoner in the lower part of the palace.* 8. *Tiberius begins to suspect Sejanus, but amuses him with warm professions of friendship.* 10. *Popularity of Sejanus : his statues erected at Rome : his birth-day celebrated.* 11. *Velleius*

11. *Velleius Paterculus the historian: he is the creature of Sejanus, and sullies his history with adulation.* 13. *Tiberius suspects Asinius Gallus and Lentulus Gætulicus, the professed friends of Sejanus. The stratagem by which Tiberius contrives the ruin of Asinius Gallus.* 15. *Sejanus is loaded with honours by the emperor; Livia, the widow of Drusus, given to him in marriage.* 17. *Tiberius resolved to remove Sejanus to Rome, and for that purpose makes him joint consul with himself. Sejanus makes his entry into Rome, and is received with demonstrations of joy.* 20. *The cruelty of Sejanus. Death of Geminus Rufus and Prisca his wife. The consulship extended by a decree to a term of five years.* 22. *Tiberius annuls the decree; he resigns the consulship, and makes Sejanus do the same.* 23. *Sejanus wishes to return to the Isle of Capreæ; Tiberius objects to it, and says he means to visit Rome.* 24. *The young Caligula raised to the honours of augur and pontiff. Sejanus is honoured with religious worship: Tiberius forbids such impious mockery even to himself.* 26. *Sejanus driven almost to despair: he forms a conspiracy, determined, at all events, to seize the reins of government. Satrius Secundus betrays him to Antonia, the sister-in-law of Tiberius. Pallas, then a slave, but afterwards the favourite of the emperor Claudius, is sent by Antonia to inform against Sejanus.* 28. *Measures of Tiberius to defeat Sejanus. Macro sent to Rome to command the prætorian guards. Artful proceedings against Sejanus. Regulus, the consul, and Laco, captain of the city cohorts, join against Sejanus, and take him into custody in the senate-house.* 33. *He is dragged to prison; insults of the populace; his death. Decrees of the senate against his memory.* 35. *Honours decreed to Macro and Laco, but by them prudently rejected.* 37. *Junius Blæsus, uncle to Sejanus, put to death; as also the eldest son of Sejanus. Apicata, the first wife of Sejanus, but divorced from him, discovers the*

the particulars of the murder of Drusus by her husband and the younger Livia, and then puts an end to her days. 38. Death of Livia, by order of Tiberius. 39. His opinion of Caligula. 40. Acts of cruelty by Tiberius in the Isle of Capreae, displayed in various instances.

43. From the end of this section Tacitus goes on to the end of the book.

VI. *The speech of an illustrious senator, whose name is lost: his fortitude, and manner of dying. VIII. P. Vitellius and Pomponius-Secundus accused, but not brought to trial. Vitellius dies broken-hearted. Pomponius out-lived Tiberius. IX. A son and daughter of Sejanus, the last of his family, put to death by order of the senate. X. A counterfeit Drusus in Greece. The impostor detected by Poppæus Sabinus. XI. Dissensions between the two consuls.*

These transactions include three years.

Years of Rome — of Christ	Consuls.
782 29	<i>L. Rubellius Geminus, C. Fusius Geminus.</i>
783 30	<i>Marcus Vinicius, L. Cassius Longinus.</i>
784 31	<i>Tiberius 5th time, L. Ælius Sejanus.</i>
<i>About the middle of May</i> <i>in the same year for</i> <i>three months</i>	
<i>Cornelius Sulla, Sexteidius Catullinus.</i>	
<i>From the middle of Au-</i> <i>gust in the same year</i>	
<i>Memmius Regulus, Fulcinius Trio.</i>	

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I. **D**URING the consulship of Rubellius Geminus and Fufius (*a*), who bore the same surname, died, in an advanced old age, the emperor's mother Livia (*b*), styled Julia Augusta. Illustrious by her descent from the house of Claudius, she was further ennobled by adoption into the Livian and the Julian families. She was first married to Tiberius Nero (*c*), and by him was the mother of two sons. Her husband, when the city of Perugia was obliged to surrender to the arms of Augustus, made his escape, and wandered from place to place, till the peace between Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirate restored him to his country. Enamoured of the graceful form and beauty of Livia, Augustus obliged her husband to resign

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her to his embraces. Whether she had consented to the change, is uncertain; but the passion of the emperor was so ardent, that, without waiting till she was delivered of the fruit of her womb, he conveyed her, pregnant as she was, to his own house. By this second marriage she had no issue; but Agrippina and Germanicus (*a'*) being joined in wedlock, Livia became allied to the house of Cæsar, and the issue of that match were the common great grand-children of Augustus and herself. Her domestic conduct was formed on the model of primitive manners; but by a graceful ease, unknown to her sex in the time of the republic, she had the address to soften the rigour of ancient virtue. A wife of amiable manners, yet a proud and imperious mother, she united in herself the opposite qualities that suited the specious arts of Augustus, and the dark dissimulation of her son. The rites of sepulture (*e*) were performed without pomp or magnificence. Her will remained for a long time unexecuted. The funeral oration was delivered from the rostrum by her great grandson Caius Cæsar, afterwards Caligula, the emperor.

II. TIBERIUS did not attend to pay the last melancholy duties to his mother. He continued to riot in voluptuous pleasures, but the weight of business was his apology to the senate. Public honours were, with great profusion, decreed to her memory: Tiberius, under the mask of moderation, retrenched the greatest part (*a*), expressly forbidding the forms of religious worship. On that point he knew the sentiments of his mother; it was her desire not to be deified. In the same letter that conveyed his directions to the senate, he passed a censure on the levity of female friendship; by that remark obliquely glancing at Fufius the consul, who owed his elevation to the partiality of Livia. The fact was, Fufius had brilliant talents. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of recommending himself to the softer sex,

sex. His conversation sparkled with wit. In his lively sallies he did not spare even Tiberius himself, forgetting that the raillery which plays with the foibles of the great, is long remembered, and seldom forgiven.

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III. FROM this time may be dated the æra of a furious, headlong, and despotic government. The rage of Tiberius knew no bounds. While his mother lived, his passions were rebuked, and, in some degree, controuled. He had been from his infancy in the habit of submitting to her judgment; and to counteract her authority was more than Sejanus dared to undertake. By the death of Livia all restraint was thrown off. The prince and his minister broke out with unbridled fury. A letter was dispatched to the senate, in bitter terms arraigning the conduct of Agrippina and her son Nero. The charge was generally supposed to have been framed, and even forwarded to Rome, during the life of Livia, but, by her influence, for that time suppressed. The violence of the proceeding, so soon after her death, gave rise to the opinion entertained by the populace. The letter was conceived in a style of exquisite malice, containing, however, against the grandson no imputation of treason, no plot to levy war against the state. The crimes objected to him were unlawful pleasures, and a life of riot and debauchery. Agrippina's character was proof against the shafts of malice. Her haughty carriage and unconquerable pride were the only allegations that could be urged against her. The fathers sat in profound silence, covered with astonishment. At length that class of men, who by fair and honourable means had nothing to hope, seized the opportunity to convert to their own private advantage the troubles and misfortunes of their country. A motion was made that the contents of the letter should be taken into consideration. Cotta Messalinus (*a*), the most forward of the party, a man ever

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ready to join in any profligate vote, seconded the motion; but the leading members of the senate, particularly the magistrates, remained in a state of doubt and perplexity. They saw no ground for proceeding in a business of so high a nature, communicated indeed with acrimony, but wanting precision, and ending abruptly without any clear or definite purpose.

IV. JUNIUS RUSTICUS, who had been appointed by the emperor to register (*a*) the acts of the fathers, was, at that time, present in the assembly. From the nature of his employment he was supposed to be in the secrets of his master. He rose on a sudden, under the impulse of some emotion unfelt before: magnanimity it was not, since he had never, upon any occasion, discovered one generous sentiment: perhaps he was deceived by his own political speculations, in the hurry of a confused and tumultuous judgment anticipating future mischief, but not attending to the combination of circumstances, that formed the present crisis. Whatever might be his motive, this man joined the moderate party, and advised the consul to adjourn the debate. He observed, that, in affairs of the greatest moment, the slightest cause often produces events altogether new and unexpected. Grant an interval of time, and the passions of a superannuated emperor may relent. The populace, in the mean time, bearing aloft the images of Nero and Agrippina, surrounded the senate-house. They offered up their prayers for the safety of the emperor, and with one voice pronounced the letter a wicked forgery, fabricated without the knowledge of Tiberius; a black contrivance to ruin the imperial family. The senate came to no resolution.

When the assembly was adjourned, a number of fictitious speeches, purporting to have been delivered by consular senators,

in a strain of bitter invective against Sejanus, were immediately written, and dispersed among the people. In those productions, the several authors, unknown and safe in their obscurity, gave free scope to their talents, and poured forth their virulence with unbounded freedom. The artifice served to exasperate the minister. He charged the fathers with disaffection; “they paid no attention to the remonstrances of the prince: the people were ripe for tumult and insurrections. A new council of state was set up, and the decrees of that mock assembly were published with an air of authority. What now remains for the discontented but to unsheath the sword, and choose for their leaders, and even proclaim as emperors, the very persons whose images had been displayed as the banners of sedition and revolt?”

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V. TIBERIUS was fired with indignation. He renewed his complaints against Agrippina and her son, and, in a proclamation, reprimanded the licentious spirit of the populace. He complained to the fathers in terms of keen reproach, that the authority of the prince was eluded, and, by the artifice of a single senator, despised and set at nought. He desired that the whole business, unprejudiced by their proceedings, should be reserved for his own decision. The fathers, without further debate, sent dispatches to the emperor, assuring him, that, though they had not pronounced final judgment, having no commission for that purpose, they were, notwithstanding, ready to prove their zeal, and would have inflicted a capital punishment, if the prince himself had not abridged their authority.

S U P P L E M E N T (*a*).

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1. THE fathers, at all times pliant and obsequious, were, in this juncture, more willing than ever to debase themselves by every act of mean fervility. Sejanus knew the inmost secrets of the prince, and the deep resentments that lay concealed, and nourished venom in his heart. Sure of a complying senate, he grew more aspiring, yet not bold enough to strike the decisive blow. His strength had hitherto lain in fraud and covered stratagem, and, having made an experiment of his talents, he resolved to proceed by the same insidious arts. Agrippina continued, with unabating spirit, to counteract his designs; and her two sons, Nero and Drusus, stood fair in the line of succession to the imperial dignity. The ambition of the minister required that all three should be removed. He began with Nero and Agrippina, well assured, that, after their destruction, the impetuous temper of Drusus would lay him open to the assaults of his enemies.

2. ROME, in the mean time, knew no pause from the rage of prosecutions. During the life of Livia, Tiberius felt some restraint; but, that check removed, he now broke out with redoubled fury. The most intimate friends of his mother (*a*), particularly those to whom she had recommended the care of her funeral, were devoted to destruction. In that number a man of equestrian rank, and of a distinguished character, was singled out from the rest, and condemned to the hard labour of drawing water (*b*) in a crane. By the disgrace of an infamous punishment,

the tyrant meant to spread a general terror. The cruelty of Sejanus kept pace with the exterminating fury of his master. His pride was wounded by the freedom, with which the public spoke of his ambitious views. A band of informers was let loose, and by that hireling crew a civil war was waged against the first men in Rome. Spies were stationed in every quarter; the mirth of the gay, the sorrows of the wretched, the joke of innocent simplicity (*c*), and the wild rambling talk of men in liquor, served to swell the list of constructive crimes. Nothing was safe; no place secure; informers spread terror and desolation through the city, and all ranks were swept away in one common ruin.

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3. WHILE by these acts of oppression Rome was made a scene of ruin and dismay, every other part of the empire enjoyed the most (*a*) perfect tranquillity. It was the wish of Tiberius to have no war upon his hands, and, with that view, it was his policy to let the provinces feel the mildness of his government. He rewarded merit, but with a sparing hand; to guilt he shewed himself inexorable; the delinquent in a post of trust was sure to be punished with unremitting severity. He dreaded superior merit; and though at Rome virtue was a crime, in the provinces he forgave it. To his choice of general officers and foreign magistrates, no objection could be made: they were men of integrity, though seldom of distinguished talents. The jealousy of his nature would not allow him to employ the most eminent character; and from mediocrity, though he could not hope for glory, he expected to derive the undisturbed tranquillity of his reign.

4. MARCUS VINICIUS and Lucius Cassius Longinus were the next consuls (*a*). By the management of Tiberius, things were now brought to the crisis, which in his heart he had long desired. The fathers had avowed their intention to pass a decree
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against Nero and Agrippina ; but the clemency of the prince was supposed to hold that assembly in suspense. Tiberius, however, no longer hesitated. Sejanus represented to him the danger of irresolution or delay. The time, he said, called for sudden exertion. “ The guilty had thrown off the mask, and, from seditious
“ discourses, proceeded to acts of open rebellion. The very se-
“ nate began to waver ; private views seduced them from their
“ duty ; the integrity of that body was no longer certain. The
“ soldiers threatened a revolt, and Nero was already considered
“ as the head of the empire. Tiberius, indeed, reigned amidst the
“ rocks of Capreæ ; but Agrippina and her son gave the law at
“ Rome.” Inflamed by this reasoning, Tiberius sent a letter to the fathers, in substance declaring, “ that his mind was on the
“ rack, and various apprehensions, like an inward fire (*b*), con-
“ fumed his peace. He knew by certain intelligence, that Nero
“ and Agrippina had formed a dangerous league ; and the storm,
“ if not prevented, would ere long burst in ruin on their heads.”

5. THE senate met in consternation. After a short debate, Agrippina and her son Nero were declared public enemies. This vote no sooner reached the ear of Tiberius, than he sent orders to a party of the prætorian guards to take them both into custody. The unhappy prisoners were loaded with fetters, and conveyed from place to place (*a*) in a close litter, which not a ray of light could penetrate. In this manner they proceeded towards the coast of Campania. A band of soldiers guarded them in their progress through the country. The crowd was every where kept at a distance, and the eye of compassion no where suffered to behold their misery. Agrippina was detained, for some time, in a castle near Herculaneum (*b*), on the margin of the sea ; while Tiberius from his island beheld, with malignant joy, the place where his state-prisoner pined in bitterness of heart. But even that distress-
ful

ful situation could not subdue the spirit of Agrippina. She did not forget that she was the grand-daughter of Augustus, and the widow of Germanicus. Burning with resentment, and by every insult fired with indignation, she launched out with vehemence against the savage cruelty of the emperor. The centurion, who guarded her person, had his private orders; and the ferocity of his nature made him ready to obey. With brutal violence he raised his hand, and at a blow struck (*c*) out one of her eyes. She wished for the hand of death to deliver her from the rage of her enemies. She resolved to die by abstinence; but even that last resource of the wretched was denied to her. Her mouth (*d*) was opened against her will, and victuals were forced down her throat, in order to protract a life of misery. Such was the deep and studied malice of Tiberius: he destroyed numbers in his fury, and at times, with deliberate malice, refused to let others die in peace (*e*). He kept them imprisoned in life, and made even his mercy the severest vengeance. To see those whom he hated in his heart, stretched on the torture of the mind, invoking death, yet forced to linger in slow-consuming pain, was the delight of that implacable, that obdurate mind. With that envenomed malignity he chose to extend the life of Agrippina. She was removed, under the care of a centurion, to the isle of Pandataria, where Julia, her unfortunate mother, closed her life in the last stage of wretchedness. By confining the daughter in the same place, he hoped, by a subtle stroke of malice, to load her with the imputation of similar vices, and thereby blacken a character which he saw was purity itself. Agrippina perceived the drift of his inhuman policy, and, no doubt, felt it with anguish of heart. How she endured the barbarity of her enemies for three years afterwards, we have now no means of knowing. Her death will be mentioned in due time and place (*f*).

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Nero was banished to the Isle (*g*) of Pontia, not far from Pandataria. About a year afterwards, the news of his death arrived at Rome, and spread a general face of mourning through the city. The current report was, that a centurion, sent by Tiberius, passed himself for an officer, commissioned by the senate to see immediate execution performed. This man displayed to view his instruments of death, and the young prince, terrified at the sight, put an end to his life. It is said, that, of the three sons of Germanicus, he was the only one, who by his graceful figure, and the elegance of his manners, recalled to the memory of men an image of his father.

6. DRUSUS and Caius (surnamed Caligula), as soon as their brother Nero was banished, were considered by Sejanus as the two remaining props of the empire. Drusus stood nearest to the succession, and for that reason was the most obnoxious. Seduced by the arts of Sejanus, and further incited by his own inordinate ambition, that unhappy prince had joined in the conspiracy against his brother Nero; but what he thought would contribute to his elevation, became the fatal cause of his ruin. He had been at an early period of his life contracted to Otho's (*a*) daughter, who was then of tender years: but, without regarding that engagement, he married Æmilia Lepida (*b*), a woman of illustrious birth, but fatally bent on mischief, and, by her pernicious talents, able to execute the worst designs. Sejanus saw the use to be made of such a character. He had chosen Livia for his instrument to cut off Drusus, the son of Tiberius; and he now resolved, by the same execrable means, to destroy the son of Germanicus. With this design, the grand corruptor in a short time gained the affections of the wife. In the course of his adulterous commerce, he instilled into her heart his own pernicious venom, and rendered

ed her the implacable enemy of her husband. He promised to join her in the nuptial union, and with ideas of future grandeur so dazzled her imagination, that she undertook the detestable task of carrying to the ear of the emperor an accusation against her husband, who was then attending the court in the Isle of Capreæ.

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Instructed by her seducer, and urged on by the ardour of her own libidinous passions, she alarmed Tiberius every day with some new allegation; she renewed, with studied artifice, all that had been imputed to Nero and Agrippina, and in their guilt, with affected reluctance, involved Drusus as an accomplice. She pretended, at the same time, to plead in his behalf. His crimes, she hoped, would admit of some extenuation: but her apology served only to envenom the charge. The emperor consulted with his minister. That artful politician espoused the cause of the young prince; he affected to disbelieve all that was alleged: but the proofs in time were too strong to be resisted; he yielded to the force of truth, still attempting to palliate, but by feeble excuses making the whole appear still more atrocious.

7. DRUSUS, unheard and undefended, received orders to depart forthwith from the Isle of Capreæ. He arrived at Rome, but not to live there in a state of security. He was pursued by the machinations of Sejanus. That artful and intriguing minister prevailed on Cassius Longinus (*a*), the consul, to arraign the character and conduct of the young prince, before the assembly of the fathers. Though high in office, this man was base enough to forget his own dignity, and become the infamous tool of a vile and designing favourite. “He stated to the senate, that the young prince, exasperated by his late disgrace, was pursuing violent measures; and, in order to cause a sudden revolution, was every day endeavouring, by intrigue, by cabal, and popular arts, to

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“increase the number of his partisans.” These allegations were, in fact, suborned by Sejanus; but the fathers were persuaded that the whole business originated with the emperor. A vote was accordingly passed, declaring Drusus an enemy to the state. This proceeding was no sooner reported to Tiberius, than he stood astonished at the measure; but his animosity to the house of Germanicus was not to be appeased. He gave orders, by letter to the senate, that his grandson should be confined a close prisoner in the lower part (*b*) of the palace, with a constant guard over him, to watch his motions, to note his words, and keep a register of every circumstance, to be in time transmitted to Capreæ, for his private inspection. In that wretched condition, Drusus was left to pine in misery, till, about three years afterwards, as will be mentioned in its place (*c*), he closed his dismal tragedy.

8. TIBERIUS saw, with inward satisfaction, the family of Germanicus well nigh extinguished. The measures by which their ruin had been accomplished, gratified the malice of his heart: but what motive induced Sejanus to be so active in the business, was a problem, which all his penetration was not able to solve. Did the minister mean to gratify the wishes of his sovereign? or was his own private ambition at the bottom? Tiberius was thrown into a state of perplexity. His jealousy took the alarm. From that moment he resolved to keep a watchful eye (*a*) on the conduct of the minister. His keen discernment and systematic dissimulation were, perhaps, never so remarkable in any period of his life. He began to nourish suspicion; and, in a mind like his, suspicion was sure never to work in vain. In the memoirs (*b*) of his own life, which were found after his death, it appears that the first cause, that brought on the ruin of the favourite, was his eagerness to destroy the sons of Germanicus.

9. MEAN-

9. MEANWHILE, Sejanus grew intoxicated with his good fortune: he saw the imperial dignity tottering on the head of an aged prince, and not likely to be better supported by Caligula, a young man as yet unequal to the cares of empire. He thought himself near the summit of his ambition; but, to ensure success, he resolved to plan his measures with care and circumspection. He addressed the prince in the style of a man, who had no private views, no motive but the interest of his sovereign. Tiberius knew that his professions were false and hollow. He resolved, however, to retaliate with the same insidious arts. He called Sejanus his best friend; the faithful minister, by whose vigilance the public peace was secured, and the glory of the empire (*a*) maintained in its highest lustre. Not content with bestowing on him the warmest commendations, he added that the man, who rendered such eminent services to the state, ought to be, at least, the second in rank and dignity.

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10. THE minister, in consequence of this exaggerated praise, became the idol of the people. The fathers passed several votes in his favour, and sent their deputies to the Isle of Capreae, with addresses of congratulation (*a*). In the forum, in the temples, and in private houses, statues were erected to Sejanus. His birth-day was celebrated with religious ceremonies. The altars smoked with incense, and the city resounded with his praise. Men swore by the fortune of Tiberius and his faithful friend. Sejanus shared in all public honours with the emperor. Applauded by the senate, and adored by the multitude, he was now scarce inferior to his master.

11. IT was in this juncture that Velleius Paterculus (*a*) published his Epitome of Roman Affairs, from the foundation of the city down to his own times. The work is dedicated to Vinicius,

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one of the consuls for the year. It is to be regretted that a writer of so fine a genius was thrown on that evil period, in which the Romans, formerly fierce with all the pride, and, perhaps, the excess of liberty, were fallen into the opposite extreme of abject slavery. The spirit of adulation debased the human character. This elegant author caught the infection of the times. He saw the senators, men of consular rank, the most illustrious of the Roman knights, and, in short, a whole people, prostrate at the feet of Tiberius and his favourite. He was carried away by the current, and hence we find him representing the Roman glory, that work of ages, and that toil of patriots, warriors, and legislators, resting at length upon an emperor, who lived in voluntary exile, and a minister, who had all the vices, without the talents, of his master. The panegyric bestowed upon two such characters has survived the wreck of time; but it has survived, to be the disgrace of the author; a monument of venal praise and servile flattery. The beauty of the composition, and the graces of the style, are the work of a rhetorician, in whose hands history forgot her genuine character, and truth has been degraded. Paterculus stands at the head of those, who have been willing to list in the service of corruption; and, though the taste of the writer will not easily find a rival, the abject spirit of the man will be sure of having, in every age and country, a herd of imitators, as long as the leaders of party and faction shall wish to see their ambition disguised, and their vices decorated with the colours and the garb of virtue.

12. THAT Paterculus threw a temporary lustre round the name of his patron, there can be no room to doubt, since the varnish, so well laid on, almost deceives us at the present hour. But Sejanus found a more powerful support in his two friends (*a*), Asinius Gallus and Lentulus Gætulicus. The former, being, as has been mentioned,

mentioned, on bad terms with Tiberius, was the more ready to list in the faction of Sejanus. He became the zealous partisan of the minister, and drew to his interest the leading members of the senate. Gætulicus was, at this time, appointed to the command of the legions in the Upper Germany. He owed this promotion to the influence of Sejanus, to whose son he had offered his daughter in marriage. This he knew would cement a closer union between him and his patron; and the patron, in the mean time, was not blind to the advantages which he himself might derive from that alliance. Lucius Apronius, the uncle of Gætulicus, was at the head of the army on the Lower Rhine; and, by forming a connection with that family, Sejanus saw that, in fact, he should have eight legions at his beck. This was a prospect that flattered his hopes, and gave new ardour to that spirit of enterprise, which now began to hurry him on to the consummation of his wishes. Honours, dignities, all employments and places of trust were granted at his will and pleasure, and to none but men ready to co-operate in his worst designs. The minister, thus supported, stood but one remove from the sovereign power; but his elevation placed him on the edge of a precipice, from which his fall would inevitably be sudden and terrible.

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13. TIBERIUS, in the mean time, was ever on the watch. He observed all that passed with acute, but silent attention. Bending under the weight of years, and still a slave to his lewd desires, he was anxious to preserve his power to the last. With this view he continued to act with his usual policy; in appearance resigned to indolence, yet making use of his vices to shade his secret purposes. His whole attention was fixed on the conduct of Sejanus. The alliance projected between the minister and Gætulicus (*a*), who filled a post of such importance, alarmed his fears. The active zeal of Asinius Gallus was another cause of suspicion. He

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resolved to remove a man of so much weight, and, having formed that deep design, he soon seized his opportunity to carry it into execution.

14. ASINIUS GALLUS, still persisting to exert himself in the interest of Sejanus, made a florid speech in the senate, concluding with a string of new honours to be decreed to the favourite. The motion succeeded to his wishes. He (*a*) was deputed by the fathers to know the emperor's pleasure. During his stay at the Isle of Capreæ, Tiberius sent a letter to the senate, representing him as a disturber of the public peace, and in direct terms requiring that he should be forthwith secured in the house of one of the consuls. The fathers knew that delay on their part would be considered as a crime. Having offended in the case of Agrippina, and not daring to provoke resentment a second time, they obeyed without hesitation. A prætor was dispatched to the Isle of Capreæ, to take charge of the prisoner. Asinius, in the mean time, was ignorant of all that passed at Rome. He was well received by the emperor, a constant guest at his table, and a sharer in all his pleasures. In the gaiety of a social hour he was informed of the judgment pronounced against him by the senate. The first emotions of surprise overpowered his reason. In order to secure, by a voluntary death, his fortune for his children, he endeavoured to lay violent hands on himself. Tiberius dissuaded him from his purpose, giving him at the same time strong assurances that he might safely rely on the protection of the prince and the favour of Sejanus. Asinius yielded to that advice. He was conveyed to Rome under a guard, and there, without being heard in his defence, thrown into close confinement, shut up from the sight of his friends, and debarred from all food, except what was necessary to prolong his life. His friend Syriacus (*b*), a man distinguished

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by his talents and his eloquence, met with a gentler punishment. His intimacy with Asinius was his only crime, and for that he was put to instant death; happy to escape from the power of a tyrant, who, by a refinement in cruelty, made life itself the worst torture he could inflict.

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15. SEJANUS was now persuaded that the sovereign power was within his grasp. Dazzled by that glittering scene, he did not perceive that the ruin of Asinius was a blow aimed at himself. Tiberius still continued to watch the motions of the minister, weighing every circumstance, and brooding in silence over his own designs. He conversed in private with Sejanus; he perused his countenance; he explored his secret thoughts, and from what he saw and heard drew his own conclusions. A penetrating observer of mankind, he knew that prosperity is the surest discoverer of the human heart. He resolved, therefore, to ply Sejanus with marks of the warmest affection; he lavished his favours on him with unbounded generosity; he praised his unremitting labours in the service of his prince; and, to put him off his guard, determined to overwhelm him with a load of grandeur. The marriage with Livia (*a*), the widow of his son Drusus, which he had formerly rejected, he knew would intoxicate the vanity of the ambitious minister. With that view he gave his consent to the match, resolved by acts of kindness to probe the secrets of the heart. Tiberius did not stop here. He was aware that Sejanus, while he remained at Capræ, would act with circumspection; but, if removed to a distance, would most probably drop the mask. In a solitary island the favourite had every thing in his power; the prætorian guards, stationed on the spot, were under his command, and all dispatches to the prince passed through their hands. Sejanus was, by consequence, master of every thing. He could suppress or

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deliver what he thought proper. The court was filled with his creatures, all of them spies upon the actions of the prince, and all devoted to the minister.

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16. TIBERIUS felt these disadvantages, and accordingly devised an artful plan to free himself from the embarrassment. Under colour of doing honour to his friend, but, in truth, to remove him from his presence, he proposed to make him joint consul with himself. The functions of that high office, he well knew, would require the constant residence of the magistrate at a distance from Capreæ; and the emperor from his solitary rock, as from a watch tower, might superintend all his measures. There was besides another advantage, of the first consequence to Tiberius. While the consul passed his whole time at Rome, the prætorian guards would be weaned from their former master, and, if necessary, Macro might be dispatched to undertake the command, under a plausible promise to resign, whenever the minister should be at leisure from the duties of his magistracy, to resume his station. Macro approved of this new arrangement. With the true spirit of a court sycophant, wishing for an opportunity to creep into favour, he professed himself devoted to the service of his prince, while, in fact, he was determined, by every sinister art, to supplant a proud and domineering favourite.

17. SEJANUS, amidst all the dignities so liberally heaped upon him, little suspected an underplot to work his ruin. He continued, with every mark of a fawning spirit, to ingratiate himself with the emperor; he was the sole fountain of court favour; he looked down with contempt upon the young Caligula; and of the twin-born sons of Drusus, the one, who still survived, was too young to alarm his jealousy. He received the
homage

homage of his creatures; he distributed presents with magnificence, and still took care to keep the prince immersed in luxury. Tiberius saw, with inward pleasure, the towering spirit of the consul elect. Increasing honours, he had no doubt, would unprovide his mind, and, in a short time, produce the genuine features of his character.

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18. WE enter now upon the fifth consulship of Tiberius, with Sejanus for his colleague. While the emperor remained in his solitary island (*a*), Sejanus made his entry into Rome, with the pomp of a sovereign prince taking possession of his dominions. The streets resounded with peals of joy. The senators, the Roman knights, all ranks of men pressed round the new consul with their congratulations. His house was crowded, his gates were besieged, and all were eager to pay their court. They knew the jealousy of a man raised to sudden elevation; they dreaded the danger of neglect or inattention; and all were willing to crawl in servitude. The prevailing opinion was, that Tiberius, worn out with age, and no longer equal to a weight of cares, would, for the remainder of his days, resign himself to his usual pleasures, content with the shadow of imperial grandeur, while the administration went on in his name, though conducted by the favourite. Tiberius seemed no more than the lord of an island, while Sejanus was considered as the viceroy of the emperor, the actual governor of the Roman world. In this persuasion all bowed down before him; they depended on his smiles; they approached his presence with a degree of respect little short of adoration; his statues were set up in every quarter; curule chairs were decorated with gold; victims were slain, and, in the honours offered to the minister, the prince was only mentioned for the sake of form, in conformity to established usage. Religious worship was not yet offered to the ambitious ma-

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gistrate; but the men, who blushed to go to that extreme, fell prostrate before his statues, and there poured forth their impious VOWS.

19. TIBERIUS had regular intelligence of all that passed; but the time was not arrived, when the secrets of that dark designing mind were to transpire. He lay in wait for further particulars. In the mean time, he addressed himself to Lucius Piso (*a*), a man descended from a father of cenforian rank, who possessed the happy art of knowing how to avoid the extremes of liberty and mean submission. Acting always with temper and with wisdom, he had recommended himself to the esteem and favour of Tiberius. He could mix in scenes of luxury, and yet retain his virtue. Being præfect of Rome, he was, by consequence, a confidential minister, entrusted with all the secrets of the court. Tiberius requested him, as a proof of his fidelity, to take careful notice of all that passed in the city, and to transmit to Capreæ an exact account of the proceedings in the senate, the language of the Roman knights, the discontents and clamours of the populace, and, above all, the cabals, intrigues, and every action of the consul. Wishing still to deceive by fair appearances, he took care, in his letters to the senate, to make honourable mention of Sejanus, styling him, on all occasions, the prop and guardian of the empire; his associate in the administration; his dear, his well-beloved Sejanus.

20. ENCOURAGED by these marks of favour, the new consul, to make his authority felt, resolved to let fall the weight of his power on all, who scorned to bend before him with abject humility. He began with Geminius Rufus (*a*) on a charge of violated majesty. Rufus appeared before the senate. His defence was short, but delivered with magnanimity. "The man," he said,

said, "who stands accused of being an enemy to the prince,
 "has by his will made that very prince equal heir with his own
 "children." Having uttered those words, he laid the will on
 the table, and withdrew to his own house. A quæstor followed
 to acquaint him with the sentence of the fathers. Rufus no
 sooner saw the messenger, than he drew his sword, and, plunging
 it in his breast, "Behold," he said, "how a man of honour can
 "die: go, and report what you have seen to the senate." He
 spoke, and breathed his last. Prisca his wife was involved in
 the prosecution. She appeared before the fathers, determined
 to emulate the example of her husband. They began to inter-
 rogate her: in that instant she drew a dagger, which she had
 concealed under her robe, and giving herself a mortal stab,
 expired on the spot.

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21. WHILE Sejanus, to gratify his vengeance, laid waste the
 city of Rome, Tiberius looked on with calm indifference. The
 destruction of men obnoxious for their virtue, gratified his natural
 cruelty; and the public detestation, he was sure, would in the
 end fall on the minister. The senate, in the mean time, went
 on in a style of abject submission. Flattery was well nigh ex-
 hausted; but the members of that assembly were determined to
 rack their invention for new proofs of sordid meanness. They
 lamented that the dignity of the consulship was lessened by the
 shortness of its duration, and therefore voted that Tiberius and
 his colleague should continue (*a*) in office for the space of five
 years. Sejanus was now at the pinnacle of his wishes. He saw
 the emperor near the verge of life, and, sure of enjoying the
 consular authority after the death of his master, he made no doubt
 of succeeding to the sovereign power.

22. IN due time the decree for extending the consulship to
 a longer

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a longer term was communicated to Tiberius. Nothing could be more opposite to his intention. He was willing to let Sejanus, by his acts of cruelty, provoke the ill will of the people; but to prolong his power was no part of his plan. He expressed his dislike of the measure, but in terms of gentle reproof, determined neither to discover his hidden purposes, nor to irritate the pride of his colleague by an abrupt refusal. He observed to the senate, "that their late decree was an infringement of the constitution. It had been the wisdom of the fathers to declare, that the consulship should not, of necessity, last an entire year. By making it a quinquennial office, they would withhold from men of eminence the reward due to their public services, and the provinces would be deprived of able governors. It was for the wisdom of the senate to consider, not what would do honour to the prince and his dearly beloved colleague, but what would be most conducive to the happiness and good order of the empire. That, and that only, was the object which he and Sejanus had nearest to their hearts; and, in comparison with that great object, they disregarded public honours." He dispatched, at the same time, a private letter to Sejanus, advising him to abdicate his office; and, to induce him to it by his own example, he sent a letter of resignation. Sejanus felt the disappointment. Unwilling, however, to make known the wound which his pride had suffered, he complied with the emperor's directions, and, about the middle of May, went out of office, soon to have a more dreadful fall.

23. ON the seventh of the ides of May, Cornelius Sylla and Sexteidius Catullinus (*a*) succeeded to the consulship. They were appointed for three months. Tiberius continued to manage appearances, still mysterious, close, and impenetrable. Sejanus,

janus, on his part, was not free from anxiety. He saw a change in the affections of the emperor, and, for that reason, wished to revisit Capreæ. In the solitude of that place he had no doubt but he could again wind himself into favour, or, if necessary, he could there, with better advantage, pursue the road of his ambition. His ostensible reasons for desiring to return were, the ill health of Livia, who required a change of air; and, after a long separation, his own earnest wish to have an interview with his sovereign. Tiberius was not to be deceived. He returned for answer, that he also languished for a sight of his friend; but the service of the state required that so able a minister should remain at Rome. He intended shortly to visit the capital, and should there embrace Sejanus. In his letters to the senate he had the art to blend hints of dislike with marks of affection; and, though still equivocal, he gave some reason to think, that he was weaning himself from his favourite. He mentioned him slightly, or hinted some exception, and occasionally passed him by in silence. He talked of himself as a superannuated prince, worn out with infirmities, and near his end. In his next letters he was perfectly recovered, and on the point of setting out for Rome. The people were the dupes of his fallacy, while he remained fixed in his retreat, content to reign in solitary grandeur.

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24. TIBERIUS thought it time to unmask another battery against Sejanus. He had invited the young Caligula (*a*) to his court, and, having made him put on the manly gown, he desired that the senate would invest him with the dignities of augur and pontiff, both vacant by the banishment of his brother Nero. Of Claudius (*b*) (afterwards emperor) he took no notice. That prince had never been adopted into the Cæsarean family. He lived at Rome neglected and despised by the court

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of Tiberius. Antonia his mother used to say, that nature began to mould him, but had not finished her work. Perception and memory were faculties which he did not want; but judgment and elocution were withheld from him. In his private studies he made considerable acquisitions in literature; but in public he lost his recollection, and with it the power of thinking. When under the operation of fear, he seemed torpid and insensible; and sudden fear continued to haunt him in every stage of life, and even on the throne. No wonder that Tiberius held him in no kind of estimation; but the honours conferred upon Caligula, he knew would prove a mortal stab to the ambition of Sejanus. Still, however, to amuse the favourite with delusive hopes, he required a grant from the senate of two more pontificates, one for Sejanus, and the other for his eldest son. By this ambiguous conduct the people of Rome were held in suspense. Whether they were to expect an account of the emperor's death, or in a short time to see him in the city, was a point not to be ascertained. Meanwhile, the senate, ever prone to flattery, passed a vote, investing Sejanus with the title of proconsul, and at the same time declaring his conduct in his magistracy a model for the imitation of all future consuls.

25. SEJANUS began to fluctuate between hope and fear; but the senate shewing still the same obsequious behaviour, he flattered himself that he should be able to reach the summit of his ambition. Religious worship continued to be offered to him. It is said, that he assisted in person at the celebration of the rites, at once the god and the priest of his own altar. Tiberius knew the effect of superstition on the public mind. To deprive Sejanus of that advantage, he wrote to the senate, complaining, that, in direct opposition to the principles of religion and to common sense, the worship due to the gods alone (*a*) was impiously

piouſly transferred to mortal man. He ordered that no ſuch honours ſhould be paid to himſelf, and, by conſequence, left Sejanus expoſed to the contempt and deriſion of the people.

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26. AT Rome it was now underſtood that the emperor was alienated from the man, who had been raiſed to ſuch a height of power and grandeur. Sejanus began to open his eyes, and to ſee at length a reverſe of fortune. He found that he had been the bubble of a politic prince, who had been, during his whole life, exerciſed in the arts of diſſimulation, and was grown a perfect maſter in the arts of deceit and cruelty. The young Caligula was, in appearance, high in favour with his grandfather, and the hearts of the people were at all times ready to eſpouſe the family of Germanicus. The diſappointed miniſter ſaw, too late, the want of reſolution which reſtrained him, during his conſulſhip, when the whole power of the ſtate was in his own hands. In the arts of fraud he ſaw that he was no match for a ſyſtematic politician, who planned his meaſures in the gloom of ſolitude, and never let his counſels tranſpire, till in one and the ſame inſtant they were known and felt. Sejanus reſolved to retrieve his loſs, and by one vigorous effort to decide the fate of empire. He called together his friends and followers; he paid court to ſuch as ſeemed diſaffected; he held forth rewards and promiſes, and, having increaſed the number of his partisans, formed a bold conſpiracy (*a*), reſolved by any means to ſeize the ſovereign power.

27. A POWERFUL league was formed with aſtoniſhing rapidity, and great numbers of all deſcriptions, ſenators, as well as military men, entered into the plot. Among theſe Satrius Secundus was the confidential friend and prime agent of the miniſter. We have ſeen this man let looſe by Sejanus (*a*) againſt

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the life of Cremutius Cordus; and now we are to see him, with the arts, in which he had been trained, employed against his master. Whatever was his motive, whether fear, or views of interest or ingratitude (for no principle of honour can be imputed to him), he resolved to betray the secret to Tiberius. For this purpose he addressed himself to Antonia, the daughter of Anthony the triumvir, the widow of Drusus, and the mother of Germanicus. The character of this illustrious woman was honoured by the court, and revered by the people. She lost her husband in the prime of life, when she had still the attractions of youth and beauty; and, though Augustus proposed to her several advantageous matches, she remained faithful to her first vows, and declined every overture. Her dignity was free from pride; she had virtue without ostentation, and an elevation of mind, without the ambition and haughty spirit of Agrippina her daughter-in-law. She saw her grand-children cut off by the wicked arts of Sejanus, and in silent grief lamented the downfall of her family. When Nero was banished to the isle of Pontia, and Drusus lay confined in a dungeon, she took Caligula their brother under her protection, and hoped that her house would prove a sanctuary for the last surviving issue of Germanicus. Her conduct gave no umbrage to Tiberius. He respected her character, and, perhaps for that reason, was inclined, at last, to shew some favour to Caligula.

Satrius, the conspirator, had no avenues of approach to Tiberius. He therefore made his advances to Antonia, concluding, that, by a stroke of perfidy, he might promote his interest in that quarter. His design was no sooner conceived than executed. He gained access to Antonia, and made a full discovery of the whole conspiracy. That prudent woman heard the particulars, and, without delay, sent dispatches to the emperor by

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one of her slaves, whose name was Pallas (*b*); the same who afterwards figured in a higher character, under the emperor Claudius.

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28. TIBERIUS was astonished, but not dismayed. The danger pressed; his habitual slowness was out of season; the time called for vigour and decisive measures. He sent Macro to Rome, with a special commission to take upon him the command of the prætorian guards. He added full instructions for his conduct in all emergencies. If he found that Sejanus and his party were able to stir up an insurrection, he desired that Drusus (*a*) should be led forth from his confinement, and presented to the people as their leader. The son of Germanicus, he was aware, would triumph over an obscure native of Vulturni. In the mean time, Tiberius was determined to be prepared for all possible events. He ordered the fleet, that lay at Misenum, to assemble at the isle of Capræ, with intent, if any disaster happened, to sail to some distant coast, and put himself at the head of such of the legions as still remained faithful to their prince. In order to obtain the quickest intelligence, he ordered signals (*b*) to be disposed along the sea-shore, on the whole way from Surrentum to Rome.

29. THE consuls at this time were Memmius Regulus and Fulcinius Trio, both appointed to fill the office from the middle of August to the end of the year. Trio had rendered himself infamous by the prosecution of Libo: he was besides known to be the tool and creature of Sejanus. Regulus was of a different mould, from his upright conduct deriving great consequence, and, at that time, much esteemed by Tiberius. The prætorian bands, as already stated, were under the influence of Sejanus. With the cohorts, that formed the city guard, the case

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was different. Subject to the controul of Piso, who was then præfect of Rome, they had no connection with the minister. Under Piso, Græcinus Laco was their commanding officer; a man distinguished by his military talents and his firm integrity. In this posture of affairs, Macro (*a*) arrived from Capreæ. He entered the city in a private manner, after the close of day, and went directly to Regulus the consul. He communicated the emperor's orders. Laco was called to the meeting. They consulted together, and settled their plan of operations for the following day. Tiberius, in this interval of suspense, took his station on the sharp point of a rock, surveying the deep that rolled beneath, and with an anxious eye gazing at the opposite shore for the earliest intelligence.

30. THE fatal day arrived, namely, the fiftenth before the calends of November. Early in the morning, by order of Regulus, a report was spread, that letters were arrived at Rome, in which the emperor signified his intention to associate Sejanus with himself in the tribunitian power. The senate was summoned to meet in the temple of Apollo, near the imperial palace. Sejanus attended without delay. A party of the prætorians followed him. Macro met him in the vestibule of the temple. He approached the minister with all demonstrations of profound respect, and taking him aside, "Be not surpris'd," he said, "that you have no letter from the prince: it is his pleasure to declare you his colleague in the tribunitian power; but he thinks that a matter of so much importance should be communicated to the fathers by the voice of the consuls. I am going to deliver the emperor's orders." Sejanus, elate with joy, and flushed with his new dignity, entered the senate-house. Macro followed him. As soon as the consuls arrived, he delivered the letter from Tiberius, and immediately went

forth

forth to the prætorian guards. He informed them, that, by order of the prince, a large donative was to be distributed among the foldiers. He added, that, by a new commiffion, he himfelf was appointed their commanding officer, and, if they followed him to the camp, they would there receive the promifed bounty. The lure was not thrown out in vain: the prætorian guards quitted their ftation. Laco, who flood near at hand, immediately furrounded the fenate-houfe with a body of the city cohorts.

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31. THE letter to the confuls was confufed, embarrassed, and with ftudied art drawn into length, in order to keep the minds of the fathers in fufpenfe, while Macro gained time to execute what had been concerted. Regulus read the letter (*a*); it began with general obfervations, expatiating at large on the ftate of the empire: a fhort expreffion glanced at Sejanus; new matter followed; and then, winding round with art, hints were thrown out againft the minifter, in a perplexed ftyle, vague, and ambiguous. It went on in the fame obfcure manner, intermixing things wholly unconnected, but at each return more pointed againft Sejanus, till at laft the language of open inveftive left no room for doubt. The fathers were covered with aftonifhment. The change of men's minds, in the viciffitude of human affairs, was never more remarkable. Thofe, who a little before congratulated Sejanus on his new dignities, began to fhun him as they would a contagion. The conclufion of the letter was like a ftroke of thunder. The emperor ordered two fenators (*b*), who had joined in the confpiracy, to be put to death, and Sejanus to be thrown into prifon. He fignified, at the fame time, his intencion to return to Rome, and, for that purpofe, defired that one of the confuls fhould be fent with a military guard as far as Capreæ, in order to conduct an infirm old man in fafety to the capital.

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32. SEJANUS kept his seat like a man benumbed, senseless, stupid with amazement. His friends deserted him on every side. He remained in confusion, pale and trembling, left in solitude, till the prætors and tribunes of the people gathered round him. Regulus called to him, "Rise, Sejanus, and follow me." The ruined favourite looked like a statue of despair. He gazed, but understood nothing; he remained torpid, motionless, as if he had lost the faculty of hearing. The consul raised his arm, and, in a tone of menace, repeated his words no less than three times. Sejanus rose in consternation. The door of the senate-house was thrown open: Græcinus Laco entered, and secured his prisoner. Regulus did not think it prudent to put the question to the assembly; but, contenting himself with the voice of a single senator, ordered Sejanus to be loaded with irons, and in that condition, at the head of a numerous body of magistrates, conducted him to prison.

33. THE downfall of Sejanus filled the city with exultation. The populace, who worshipped him in the hour of prosperity, rejoiced to see the sad catastrophe to which he was now reduced. They followed in crowds, rending the air with shouts, and pouring forth a torrent of abuse and scurrilous language. The prisoner endeavoured to hide his face; but the mob delighted to see remorse and shame, and guilt and horror, in every feature of that distracted countenance. They reviled him for his acts of cruelty; they laughed at his wild ambition; they tore down his images, and dashed his statues (*a*) to pieces. He was doomed by Tiberius to suffer death on that very day; but, as he had a powerful faction in the senate, it was not thought advisable, for the mere formality of a regular condemnation, to hazard a debate. Private orders were given to Macro to dispatch him without delay; but the consul, seeing the dispositions of the people, and the calm

neutra-

neutrality of the prætorian guards, judged it best to re-assemble the fathers. They met in the temple of Concord. With one voice Sejanus was condemned to die, and the sentence was executed without delay. He was strangled in the prison. His body was dragged to the Gemoniæ, and, after every species of insult from the populace, at the end of three days was thrown into the Tiber (*b*). Such was the tragic end of that ambitious favourite. He fell a terrible example to all, who, in any age or country, may hereafter endeavour by their vices to rise above their fellow citizens.

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34. THE execration, with which the populace treated the ruined minister, was perhaps nothing more than the variable humour of a giddy multitude (*a*). In the zenith of his power Sejanus met with obsequious fervility from all orders of men; and, had he continued to flourish in prosperity, there is too much reason to infer from the temper of the times, that the same debasement of the human character would have continued. The senate followed the example of the people. They passed a decree, by which “it was declared unlawful to wear mourning
“apparel for the deceased minister; his name was ordered to
“be erased out of the calendar, and all public registers; the
“statue of Liberty was to be erected in the forum; a day of
“public rejoicing was appointed, and the anniversary of his
“execution was to be celebrated with solemn games and public
“spectacles, to be exhibited by the sacerdotal college and the
“sodality of Augustan priests.” The fathers went still farther: that the state might never again be deemed a prey for the enterprising genius of every worthless upstart, it was declared, “that, for the future, no Roman citizen should be invested with
“extravagant honours, and that public oaths should never be
“sworn upon any name but that of the emperor.”

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35. IT is fatally too true, that, when the public mind has been debased by shame and servitude, the genuine tone of liberty, and the firmness of an independent spirit, are not easily recovered. That very senate, which, in the late decree, had shewn some signs of life, was, notwithstanding, dead to all sense of public virtue. Adulation and time-serving flattery were grown inveterate. New honours (*a*) were to be invented for a prince, who deserted his post, and left the seat of empire, to hide himself from the world, the lord of a barren island, the shadow of an emperor. It was, however, decreed, that he should be styled “the father of his country,” and that his birth-day should be celebrated with equestrian “games, and other demonstrations of joy.” Macro and Græcinus Laco were considered as men, who deserved to stand high in the estimation of the emperor. Flattery, therefore, was to prepare her incense for those exalted characters. Besides a large sum of money, to be paid, as a reward for their services, out of the public treasury, the ensigns of prætorian dignity were granted to Macro, and the quæstorian rank to Laco. The former was also complimented with a seat in the theatre among the senators, and the honour of wearing a robe bordered with purple, at the celebration of the votive games. In this manner, after the downfall of one favourite, two new ones were to mount the scene. But, from the late event, those officers had learned a lesson of prudence: they declined the honours so lavishly bestowed upon them.

36. MEANWHILE, Tiberius was apprised of all that passed at Rome. From the jutting eminence of a sharp-pointed rock he had seen the signals along the coast, and special messengers had been sent to give him the earliest information. Rome, in the mean time, was a scene of tumult and wild commotion. The prætorian guards beheld with a jealous eye the preference given to the city cohorts. Enraged to find that no confidence was
reposed

reposed in themselves, the whole corps rushed, with licentious fury, into the city, and there bore down all before them, committing depredations in every quarter, and levelling houses to the ground. The populace were no less inflamed against the creatures of Sejanus. They seized on all who had been instruments of his cruelty, and, executing the summary justice of an enraged multitude, glutted their thirst of blood. Tiberius wrote to the magistrates, in the strongest terms, requiring them to quell all insurrections, and restore the public peace. The fate of Sejanus filled him with emotions of joy too strong to be concealed; but in all other matters nothing could lay open the secret workings of that involved and gloomy spirit. He was never at any time more abstruse, dark, and unintelligible. He refused to see the deputies sent by the senate; he rejected the honours, which had been decreed to him; and even Memmius Regulus, the consul, who had served him so faithfully, was not admitted to his presence: hating the commerce of mankind, he retired, with a sullen spirit, to one of his mansions, called the Villa of Jupiter (*a*), and there continued ruminating in solitude for several months.

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37. THE deputies of the senate returned to Rome, but with no pleasing account of their expedition. The behaviour of the prince was a mystery, which no man could explain. The fathers, however, concluded, that, to satisfy the vengeance of the emperor, more work remained on their hands. The friends, relations, and followers of Sejanus, were ordered into custody. His uncle, Junius Blæsus, was put to death. The charge against him cannot now be stated: but he was a man of eminence, who to consummate military talents united great political wisdom: in the eyes of Tiberius, that was a sufficient crime. The eldest son of Sejanus, though too young to be engaged in his father's plot, was also doomed a sacrifice. Apicata (*a*), who, as already mentioned,

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had been repudiated by Sejanus, was not condemned by the senate; but the sight of her son's body, thrown into the common charnel, made life a load no longer to be endured. She drew up a memorial, containing a full detail of the wicked arts, with which her husband and the younger Livia brought Drusus, the emperor's son, to an untimely death. Having finished her account of that black transaction, she sent it, by a trusty messenger, to the isle of Capreæ, and put a period to her days.

38. TIBERIUS was still in his villa, sequestered from the eyes of mankind; but the detection of that horrible murder roused him from his lethargy. He had till then believed that Drusus died of a disorder occasioned by his own intemperance: but being at length acquainted with that scene of villany, he sent dispatches to the senate, demanding vengeance on all who were any way concerned in the murder of his son. Eudemus, the physician (*a*), and Lygdus, the eunuch, were put to the rack, and with their dying breath confessed all the particulars of that horrible tragedy. Livia, the widow of Drusus, was taken into custody. According to some historians, Tiberius gave her up to her mother, Antonia (*b*); and that good woman, who thought it of the essence of virtue, that guilt of so black a dye should not remain unpunished, left her to die by famine. But this account does not seem worthy of credit. In the case of a murdered son, why should Tiberius, a man by nature harsh and vindictive, hesitate to execute the stroke of justice on a woman of so abandoned a character? It is certain that he passed several days in a close enquiry into all the circumstances of that transaction; and when the fact was proved beyond the possibility of a doubt; when the emperor saw his own immediate issue, the only one of his family, for whom he retained a spark of affection, snatched away by the treachery of an unnatural mother; can it be supposed that he felt any compassion for
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the person, who imbrued her hands in the blood of her husband, and was, besides, the sister of Germanicus?

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39. LIVIA, the vile accomplice of Sejanus, was brought to condign punishment; and, after duly weighing the testimony of writers who lived near the time, it may be assumed as an historical fact, that she suffered by the order of Tiberius. The man, who in the isle of Rhodes gave strong indications of his innate cruelty, and, at that early period, was called, by his rhetorical preceptor, “a composition of mud (*a*) mixed with blood;” who became, in time, so hardened by repeated murders, as to set no kind of value on the lives of the most upright citizens, was not likely to feel the smallest touch of compunction, when revenge was prompted to strike the blow, which justice warranted. It is well known, that, in talking of the lot of Priam, he gave it as his opinion, that the Asiatic prince did not know how to form a true estimate of human felicity. Priam’s happiness, he said, consisted in the rare event of having (*b*) survived all his race. Tiberius was living fast to enjoy that portion of worldly bliss. Drusus, the son of Germanicus, languished in a dungeon, condemned never again to see the light of the sun; and if Caligula was to be spared, it was for the reason given by Tiberius himself, who used to say, “I suffer that son of Germanicus to live, that he may be, in time, a public calamity, and the fatal author of his own destruction (*c*).” “In him I nourish a serpent for the people of Rome, and another Phaeton for the world at large.”

40. IT will not be unfit to mention, in this place, a few instances of that savage cruelty, which the tyrant practised in his lone retreat; and which, though well authenticated, cannot now be referred to any particular year. The place of execution (*a*), where so many unhappy wretches died in misery, is still shewn

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amidst the rocks of Capreæ. It stood on a jutting eminence; and from that fatal spot all, who incurred his displeasure, were, after enduring the most exquisite torments, thrown headlong into the sea, where a crew of mariners waited to receive them, with orders, that no spark of life might remain unextinguished, to break their limbs, and crush their mangled bodies.

Besides a number of his old friends and confidential intimates, whom he retained near his person, he drew from Rome no less than twenty (*b*) of the most eminent citizens, to be his chief advisers, and to form his cabinet-council. Of these chosen favourites, if we except two or three at most, the whole number was, for different reasons, put to death. Sejanus was the most distinguished victim; a man taken into favour, at first perhaps with personal regard, and motives of real friendship; but, as there is now room to think, continued in office for political reasons. By raising this man to the summit of power, and styling him his associate in the administration, Tiberius, probably, meant to throw the odium of his worst and most oppressive deeds on the favourite minister: with his assistance, perhaps, he thought that the hated house of Germanicus would be more easily crushed, and, in consequence of that measure, that the succession to the imperial dignity might be secured for the surviving issue of his son Drusus. That point accomplished, a politic and designing prince, like Tiberius, would not be at a loss how to discard, or even ruin the minister, who had conducted his pernicious measures to the end desired. It is highly probable, that, when he conferred the greatest honours on Sejanus, he had even then planned his destruction. While he raised the superstructure, he was secretly employed in sapping the foundation. Such was the genius of Tiberius: by nature subtle, dark, designing, and always mysterious, he had exercised his talents in the school of politics, and became, by constant

constant practice, the great master of craft and dissimulation. What he could do by an act of power, he chose rather to accomplish by the crooked means of deceit and stratagem. There never occurred a juncture, in which he was not able to overwhelm Sejanus, by barely signifying his will and pleasure. An obsequious senate was ready either to pay homage to the favourite, or at a blow to dispatch the man, whom they beheld with envy and secret detestation. The charge against Sejanus was no sooner opened, than the fathers, without further enquiry, pronounced his final doom. The event shewed the nature of that assembly.

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41. IN all cases of importance, when either a real delinquent was to be brought to justice, or an eminent citizen was to suffer for his talents and his virtue, we have seen that Tiberius affected still to preserve the forms of a regular constitution, and to consider the senate as the supreme court of judicature. From the decision of the fathers he hoped to borrow some degree of sanction, to colour the violence of his own proceedings. This policy, however, was confined to persons of high consideration in the state. In his solitary island he committed petty murders without remorse, or ceremony. He had ordered a person, whom he suspected as an accomplice in the destruction of his son Drusus, to attend his presence in the isle of Capreae; and it happened that he had invited, at the same time, a friend from Rhodes, on a visit of pleasure. The friend arrived first, and no sooner set his foot on the shore, than he was seized by the guards, and as a delinquent hurried away, and put to the rack. Tiberius (*a*) heard of the mistake, but was no otherwise moved, than to say, with calm composure, "Since you have begun with him, you may finish your work, and put the man out of his pain." Upon another occasion, when a funeral was passing by, a person of some pleasantry said to the corpse, Go and inform Augustus, that the legacies,

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cies, which he left to the common people, have not as yet been paid. Tiberius ordered the unfortunate wit to be brought before him, and, after paying him what was computed to be his share, sent him to immediate execution, saying at the same time, "Go, and tell Augustus (*b*), that you have received your legacy." Not a day passed without some new proof of that fullen malignity, which he pampered in solitude, and converted, at length, into a rooted hatred of mankind. The most common occurrences irritated his passions, and discovered the rancour of his heart. In a few days after he arrived at Capræ, as he was walking in a sequestered part of the island, a fisherman, eager to mark his respect for the emperor, made his way over rugged steeps, and pointed rocks, to present a barbel (*c*) of uncommon size. Alarmed by this intrusion on his privacy, Tiberius ordered the man's face to be well rubbed with his own barbel. The astonished fisherman, as soon as he recovered from his fright, congratulated himself, that he had not brought with him a large crab, which he had taken on the coast. Tiberius called for the crab, and with the claws, and edge of the shell, cut and mangled the poor fellow's features, till he made his countenance a woeful spectacle.

These, it must be acknowledged, are minute particulars, and may be thought unworthy of the historian's pen: but, when they serve to produce strokes of character, and lay open the inward temper of the man, even such materials may be allowed to merit our attention. The merciless disposition of Tiberius, and the unrelenting cruelty, with which he took away the lives of the most illustrious citizens, have been seen in a variety of tragic issues, and, perhaps, will be placed in a conspicuous light by those smaller incidents, which the diligence of other writers has collected, and which, for that reason, deserve to be here recorded. Death was considered by Tiberius as the end of human sorrow, and, consequently,

quently, as the slightest punishment that he could inflict. Whenever the unhappy prisoner wished to die, and lay down at once his load of affliction, that relief was sure to be denied: he was condemned to groan in misery. It happened that a man, of the name of Carvilius (*d*), finding himself accused of some real or pretended crime, put a period to his days. Being informed of the fact, Tiberius exclaimed, "That man has escaped from me." Upon another occasion, he thought fit to make all his prisoners pass in review before him. One of them, harassed out with pain, petitioned for a speedy execution: "No," said Tiberius, "I have not yet made up my quarrel with you."

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42. To give a minute and exact account of all his cruelties, is not the purpose of this undertaking; and yet, nothing that affords an insight into the character of a deliberate and systematic tyrant, can with propriety be omitted. His band of astrologers, and the Greek philosophers, whom he retained at his court, did not meet with more kindness and humanity, than the unhappy wretches, whom he tortured in prison, and threw from rocks and precipices into the sea. He entered into conversation with Zeno (*a*), a man celebrated for his acquisitions in literature, and in all the various branches of science. The philosopher was curious in his choice of words, and spoke with a degree of elegance, that bordered on too much refinement. Surprised at some of his expressions, Tiberius asked him, which of the Greek dialects supplied him with such nice and difficult phraseology? Zeno told him, the DORIC, which, it seems, was the language in use at the isle of Rhodes. Tiberius was enraged at the answer: he conceived it to be a sarcastic allusion to the time of his residence in that island, and, in his rage, banished the philosopher to the isle of Cinaria.

Seleucus (*b*), the grammarian, was also invited to enjoy the

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sweets of meditation in the solitary retreats of Capreæ. He found that the emperor came to his evening repast, well provided with abstract questions, which he had gleaned from his morning studies. In order to be prepared for all difficulties, the philosopher made it his business to learn, from the attendants of the emperor, what authors their master chose for his amusement in the course of the day. In consequence of this intelligence, no question came upon him by surprise. Tiberius heard of the stratagem, and was fired with indignation. He thought it an attempt to pry into his actions with inquisitive eyes. The philosopher, now considered as a spy, received orders to appear no more at court, and, in a short time afterwards, was put to death.

Historians relate another transaction, which, by a difference of opinion among themselves, they have rendered somewhat doubtful: but since they have transmitted it as a problem to exercise the judgment of posterity, it may, with propriety, be inserted in this place, and left to try its fortune with the reader. A man, whose name is not mentioned, but, as it seems, an architect by profession, was employed by Tiberius to repair an arch, that was tottering to its fall. He succeeded in the work, to the surprise of all who beheld it; and, after receiving a reward for his skill and ingenuity, was by the jealous malignity of the emperor sent into banishment. Addicted to the mechanic arts, and fond of useful inventions, this man found the method of manufacturing glass (*c*) to a degree of perfection unknown before. Having prepared his materials, and made a vase of the most beautiful composition, he went to present it to Tiberius in the isle of Capreæ, little doubting but that, for so fine a piece of workmanship, he should obtain his pardon. Tiberius had a circle of his courtiers round him. The transparent vessel excited the admiration of all. The artist received it from the hands of the emperor, and, to shew the wonders

wonders of his skill, dashed it on the ground. The company was alarmed, but, in a short time, stood astonished to see, that, instead of flying into fragments, it was only bent and flattened in the part that struck against the ground. Their surprise was still more increased, when they saw the ingenious mechanic take out his hammer, and restore the glass to its original form, as if it had the flexibility of a malleable metal. Tiberius desired to know, whether he had communicated the secret of his art to any other person; and, being assured that no one knew it, he ordered him to be hurried away to instant execution, giving for his reason, that a manufacture, which could transmute ordinary ingredients into so fine a form, would lessen the value of brass, and gold, and silver, and ought, for that reason, to be abolished for ever.

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43. SUCH were the repeated acts of fell and savage cruelty, which Tiberius hoped to hide in the solitude of Capreæ. Rome, in the mean time, was a scene of slaughter, where superior talents, virtue, truth, and innocence perished by the stroke of lawless power. The charge of violated majesty was the signal of destruction, and a letter from Capreæ was a warrant for execution. The senate obeyed the mandate; no rule of law prevailed; justice was trampled under foot; reason and humanity were never heard; and all, who did not dispatch themselves, were sure to perish by the judgment of a corrupt tribunal. The islands were crowded with illustrious exiles, and the Tiber was discoloured with blood. After the death of Sejanus, the fury of the emperor rose to the highest pitch, and at Rome the people followed his example. Nothing could appease the spirit which had been roused against all, who stood in any degree connected with the unhappy favourite. Men of the first distinction, senators as well as Roman knights, were seized by the tyrant's order; some hurried to a dungeon, and others detained in the custody of the magistrates.

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None escaped, except such as stooped to the infamous trade of informing against others. Numbers, who had been formerly under prosecution, and, in the hour of danger, were protected by Sejanus, were now cited to appear, and executed without mercy. Neither rank, nor sex, nor age was safe. Several, to avoid a sentence of condemnation, and save their fortunes for their children, died by their own hands. Some had the courage to set their enemies at defiance, and with becoming magnanimity stood forth to assert their innocence, determined, since their fate was unavoidable, to preserve, to the last, the honour of a fair and upright character.

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

VI. IN the course of these prosecutions, no less than four-and-forty speeches were made before the senate; some of them dictated by fear, and others by fervile adulation, the epidemic vice of the times. Amidst the general wreck, a senator (*a*) of distinguished eminence, and superior dignity of mind, finding himself doomed to destruction, called a meeting of his friends, and spoke to the following effect. “ There was a time, when no human prudence
“ could foresee, that the friendship, which subsisted between Se-
“ janus and me, would either prove a reproach to him, or a
“ calamity to myself. A reverse of fortune has changed the scene.
“ And yet, even at this day, the great person, who chose Seja-
“ nus for his colleague, and even for his son-in-law, does not con-
“ demn his own partiality. Numbers there were, who courted
“ the minister in his meridian splendour, but in the moment of his
“ decline turned against him, with treachery and base ingratitude.
“ The first was their servility; the last was their crime. Which of
“ the two evils is the worst, to suffer, on the one hand, for a faith-
“ ful attachment, or, on the other, to blacken the character of the
“ man whom we have loved, I shall not decide. The dilemma
“ is dreadful. For myself, I will not poorly wait to feel either
“ the cruelty or the compassion of any man. While I yet am
“ free; while I enjoy the congratulations of my own conscience,
“ I will act as becomes a man, and outstrip the malice of my ene-
“ mies. To you, my friends, this is my last request: Pursue

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“ me not with tears and vain regret: consider death as an escape
 “ from the miseries of life; and add my name to those heroic spi-
 “ rits, who chose to die with glory, rather than survive to see the
 “ ruin of their country.”

VII. AFTER this discourse, he passed a considerable part of the day in calm serenity, receiving the visits of his friends, and taking leave of such as chose to depart. With a large circle round him, while all eyes beheld with admiration the undaunted courage, which appeared in his countenance, and gave reason to hope that his end was not so near, he fell upon the point of his sword, which he had concealed under his mantle. Tiberius waged no war against his memory. To Blæsus, when that officer could no longer speak for himself, he behaved with inveterate rancour; but this upright citizen was allowed to rest in peace.

VIII. PUBLIUS VITELLIUS (*a*) and Pomponius Secundus were soon after cited to appear before the senate. Vitellius had been entrusted with the care of the public treasury, and the military chest. He was charged with a design to surrender both for the service of the conspirators, with intent to overturn the government. The allegation against Pomponius was his intimacy with Ælius Gallus, who, immediately after the execution of Sejanus, fled to the gardens of the accused, deeming that place his safest sanctuary. This charge was supported by Confidius, a man of prætorian rank. In this distress, those two eminent men had no resource but the magnanimity of their brothers, who generously stood forth, and gave security for their appearance. Vitellius, harassed out by various delays, and at length weary of alternate hopes and fears, called for a pen-knife, as if going to write, and opened his veins, but with so slight a wound, that he continued to linger for some time longer. He died of a broken heart. Pompo-

nius:

nius, who was distinguished no less by his genius, than by the gaiety and elegance of his manners, supported himself in adversity with undaunted spirit, and survived Tiberius.

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IX. THE fury of the populace began to subside, the blood already spilt having well nigh appeased their indignation. The fathers, however, did not relent. Two children of Sejanus, a son and a daughter, still survived the massacre of their family. They were both seized by order of the senate, and dragged to prison. The son was grown up to years of discretion; but the daughter, as yet a tender infant, was insensible of her sad condition. She was hurried through the streets, asking in a tone of simplicity, "What fault she had committed? Whither were they leading her? Tell her her offence, and she would be guilty of the like no more: they might chastise her, and she would promise to be good." A virgin (*a*) sentenced to capital punishment was, at that time, a thing unheard of at Rome: but we are told by writers of good authority, that, to satisfy the forms of law, a detestable artifice was employed. The executioner deflowered her first, and strangled her afterwards. Her brother suffered at the same time. Their bodies were thrown into the *Gemoniæ*, or the common charnel, where the vilest malefactors were exposed.

X. ABOUT this time, a report was spread through Greece and Asia, that Drusus, the son of Germanicus, had been seen in the islands called the Cyclades, and afterwards on the continent. A young man, it seems, about the age of Drusus, assumed the name of that unfortunate prince. The emperor's freedmen encouraged the impostor, intending to favour him at first, and betray him in the end. A name so celebrated as that of Drusus drew together a large conflux of the common people. The genius of the Greeks, fond of novelty, and at all times addicted

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to the marvellous, helped to propagate the story. The prince, they said, had escaped from his confinement, and was then on his way to head the armies of Asia, formerly commanded by his father. With that force he intended to make himself master of Ægypt, or of Syria. Such was the tale dressed up by the lively genius of the Greeks. What they invented, they were willing to believe. The hero of this romance had his train of followers, and the wishes of the multitude favoured his cause. The impostor, flushed with success, began to anticipate his future grandeur.

Meanwhile, Poppæus Sabinus, the proconsular governor of Macedonia and Greece, but engaged at that time in the former province, received an account of this wild attempt. He resolved to crush the adventurer without delay, and, accordingly, having passed the two bays of Toronis and Thermes, he crossed over to Eubœa, an island in the Ægean sea. From that place he sailed to Piræum, on the coast of Athens, and thence to Corinth and the adjoining isthmus. He there embarked on the opposite sea, and steered his course to Nicopolis, a Roman colony, where he was informed that the impostor, when interrogated by persons of skill and judgment, declared himself the son of Marcus Silanus. After this discovery, the number of his adherents falling off, he went on board a vessel, with intent, as he himself gave out, to pass over into Italy. Sabinus sent this account to Tiberius. The affair ended here: of its origin, progress, or final issue, nothing further has reached our knowledge (*a*).

XI. TOWARDS the close of the year, warm dissensions broke out between the two consuls. Their animosities, which had been festering for some time, were now gathered to a head. Trio was by nature restless, bold, and turbulent. He had been
8
formerly

formerly exercised in the practice of the bar (*a*), and thence more ready to provoke hostilities. He charged his colleague with too much lenity towards the accomplices of Sejanus. Regulus was a man of moderation; if not insulted, modest; if provoked, neither stupid, nor unwilling to resent an injury. Not content with refuting his adversary, he threatened to arraign him, as an accomplice in the late conspiracy. The fathers interposed their good offices to compromise a quarrel, which was likely to end in the ruin of both; but the ill will between the two consuls was not to be appeased. They continued at variance, provoking and threatening each other during the rest of the year.

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These transactions include near six years.

Years of Rome — of Christ	Consuls.
785 32 } 786 33 } 787 34 } 788 35 } 789 36 } 790 37 }	<p><i>Cneius Domitius Oenobarbus, M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus.</i></p> <p><i>Ser. Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla.</i></p> <p><i>Paulus Fabius Persicus, Lucius Vitellius.</i></p> <p><i>C. Cestius Gallus, M. Servilius Nonianus.</i></p> <p><i>Sext. Papinius Allenius, Quintus Plautius.</i></p> <p><i>Cneius Acerronius Proculus, Caius Pontius Nigrinus.</i></p>

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I. **C**NEIUS DOMITIUS (*a*) and Camillus Scribonianus succeeded to the consulship. They had not been long in office, when Tiberius crossed the narrow sea that divides the isle of Capreæ from Surrentum, and sailing along the coast of Campania, made his approach towards Rome, in doubt whether to enter the city; or, perhaps, because he had determined otherwise, choosing to raise expectations, which he never meant to gratify. He went on shore at various places; visited his gardens on the banks of the Tiber, and, at length, having amused the people with false appearances, went back to hide himself, his vices, and sensuality amidst the rocks of Capreæ. In that place he gave a loose to his inordinate appetites, a tyrant even in his pleasures.

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With the pride of eastern despotism, he seized the young men of ingenuous birth; and forced them to yield to his brutal gratifications. Elegance of shape and beauty of feature were not his only incentives. The blush of modesty served as a provocative; and to stain the honour of respectable families, gave a zest to his enjoyments. New modes of sensuality were invented, and new terms for scandalous refinements in lascivious pleasure. Then, for the first time, were introduced into the Roman language the words *SELLARII* (*b*) and *SPINTRIÆ*; two words of the vilest import, signifying at once the place of clandestine vice, and the unnatural experiments of infamous prostitution. Slaves were employed to provide objects of desire, with full commission to allure the venal with presents, and to conquer the reluctant by threats and violence. If friends interposed in the defence of youth and innocence; if a parent attempted to protect his child, ruffian force was exercised. Compulsion and captivity followed. Like slaves by conquest, all were at the mercy of a detestable crew, whose business it was to pander for the passions of their master.

II. AT Rome, in the mean time, the guilt of the younger Livia (*a*), as if she had not been sufficiently punished, was resumed with warmth and violence. The senate thundered forth decrees against her memory, and her very statues. The property of Sejanus was ordered to be removed from the public treasury (*b*), to the coffers of the prince; as if, in either place, it would not have been equally at his disposal. The Scipios, the Silani, and the Caffii were the authors of this alteration. They proposed the measure, and enforced it with their best ability, but with little variance either in the language, or the argument.

Togonius Gallus had the ill-timed ambition to mix his name, however obscure and insignificant, with men of the highest rank.

He made himself ridiculous ; and malignity, for that reason, was willing to listen to him. He proposed that out of a number of senators, chosen by the prince, twenty should be drawn by lot, to serve under arms, as a guard to Tiberius, whenever he should choose to honour the senate with his presence. This extravagant motion sprung from the folly of a man, who was weak enough to believe (*c*) that the emperor was in earnest, when he desired, by letter, that one of the consuls should be sent to guard him on his way from Capreæ to Rome. Tiberius, according to his custom, mingling a vein of irony with serious business, thanked the fathers for this mark of their care. He desired to know, “ who were to be elected into the body-guard, and who rejected? “ Was it to be an office for life, or by rotation? Were they to be “ draughted from the younger part of the senate, or to consist of “ such as had passed through the gradations of the magistracy? “ Must they be actual magistrates, or men in a private station? “ And again, when the senators, sword in hand (*d*), were drawn “ up rank and file in the porch of the senate-house, what kind of “ scene would that motley appearance present to the people? A life, “ which must be thus defended, was not worth his care.” In this strain of raillery he replied to Togonius, adding nothing harsh, and not a word of serious tendency to over-rule the motion.

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III. JUNIUS GALLIO (*a*) was not let off on the same easy terms. He had given his opinion that the soldiers of the prætorian band, having served the requisite time, should enjoy the privilege of sitting on the fourteen rows (*b*) of the theatre, appropriated to the Roman knights. Against the mover of this innovation Tiberius launched out with vehemence, and, though absent, with all the ardour of a personal expostulation. He asked, “ what business has Gallio to interfere with the military line? Why inter- “ meddle with those, whose duty it is to receive their orders, and “ the

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“ the reward of their service, from the emperor only? A new
 “ plan of policy, unknown to the wisdom of Augustus, has been
 “ broached by the superior genius of this able statesman! Perhaps,
 “ it was the project of a man, bred in the school of Sejanus, with
 “ a view to kindle the flame of discord, and, under colour of dis-
 “ pensing military honours, to seduce the affections of the army,
 “ to the ruin of discipline and all good order.” Such were the
 wages earned by flattery. Gallio intended to pay his court, and,
 for his attempt, was expelled the senate, and banished out of Italy.
 He retired to Lesbos; but it being suggested, that, in the charm-
 ing scenes of that delightful island, what was intended as a punish-
 ment, would be, in fact, a pleasing recompense, he was brought
 back to Rome, and ordered into close confinement in the house
 of a civil magistrate.

In the letter which directed this proceeding, Tiberius marked
 out Sextius Paconianus, of prætorian rank, as another victim.
 The fathers received, with pleasure, the condemnation of a man,
 whom they knew to be of a bold and turbulent spirit, willing to
 embark in any scheme of iniquity, and infamous for the pernicious
 talent of worming himself into the secrets of others. When
 Sejanus began to meditate the destruction of Caligula, he chose
 this man for his confidential agent. That dark conspiracy being
 now laid open, every breast was fired with indignation; and if
 the miscreant had not prevented his fate, by offering to make im-
 portant discoveries, the senate was ready to adjudge him to instant
 death.

IV. THE person, against whom he informed, was the well-
 known Latinus Latiaris. The accuser and the accused were ob-
 jects of public execration; and the spectacle, which they both
 presented, diffused a universal satisfaction. Latiaris (*a*), the

reader will remember, was the chief instrument in the ruin of Sabinus. Of the several actors in that foul transaction he was the first that paid the forfeit of his crimes. In the course of this day's debate, Haterius Agrippa attacked the consuls of the preceding year. "After mutual accusations, why did they now remain silent? Fear, and their own consciences, have made them compromise all matters in dispute. They are joined in bonds of the strictest union. But the senate heard their mutual accusations, and ought now to institute a serious enquiry." Regulus replied, that in due time it was his intention to bring the business forward, but he waited for the presence of the emperor. Trio observed, that their hostilities were nothing more than the jealousy that often happens between colleagues in office; but such petty disputes ought not to be revived. This did not satisfy Agrippa. He still persisted, till Sanquinius Maximus, of consular rank, rose to allay the ferment. He entreated the fathers to be cautious how they multiplied the cares of the emperor. To be ingenious in framing new complaints, was not their province. They might rely on the wisdom of Tiberius, comprehensive as they knew it to be, and equal to the task of remedying every evil. In consequence of this conciliating speech, Regulus remained in full security, and the ruin of Trio (*b*) was deferred to a further day. As to Haterius Agrippa, the violence of his conduct made him more than ever an object of the public hatred. Too indolent for a life of business, he passed his days in sleep, and his nights in riot and debauchery. His vices made him an enervated slug-gard, and, at the same time, screened him from the cruelty of a jealous and unforgiving tyrant. And yet this man, amidst the joys of wine, and in the harlot's lap, had the malevolence to plan the ruin of the most illustrious citizens.

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guinary measures, was the next person accused. This prosecution called forth a multitude of enemies. All were eager to have their full blow at a man long known and detested. The charge against him was, that, to fix on Caius Cæsar (*a*) the imputation of unnatural vices, he had called the young prince by the female name of Caia, and, at a banquet given by the pontiffs, in honour of the birth-day of Livia, he called that feast a (*b*) funeral entertainment. It was further alleged, that, in a law-suit with Manius Lepidus, and Lucius Arruntius, he complained of the weight and influence of his adversaries, but said at the same time, “Let them boast of their interest with the senate; my little friend Tiberius will outweigh them all.” In support of this charge, the first men in Rome were willing witnesses. Cotta knew how to baffle his enemies. He removed the cause by appeal to the emperor. Tiberius, in a letter to the senate, made the apology of Cotta: he stated the friendship, which had long subsisted between them, and the obligations, by which he himself was bound. He concluded with a request, that words casually spoken, and fallies of vivacity in the moments of convivial mirth, might not be converted into crimes.

VI. THE letter, sent by Tiberius on this occasion, is too remarkable to be here omitted. His words were as follows: “What to write (*a*), conscript fathers; in what terms to express myself, or what to refrain from writing, is a matter of such perplexity, that if I know how to decide, may the just gods, and the goddesses of vengeance, doom me to die in pangs, worse than those under which I linger every day.” We have here the features of the inward man. His crimes retaliated upon him with the keenest retribution; so true is the saying of the great philosopher (*b*), the oracle of ancient wisdom, that if the minds of tyrants were laid open to our view, we should see them gashed and mangled

with the whips and stings of horror and remorse. By blows and stripes the flesh is made to quiver, and, in like manner, cruelty, and inordinate passions, malice and evil deeds, become internal executioners, and with unceasing torture goad and lacerate the heart. Of this truth Tiberius is a melancholy instance. Neither the imperial dignity, nor the gloom of solitude, nor the rocks of Capreæ, could shield him from himself. He lived on the rack of guilt, and his wounded spirit groaned in agony.

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VII. CÆCILIANUS, the senator, had taken an active part in the prosecution of Messalinus Cotta. For that offence Tiberius left him to the discretion of the fathers, who thought fit to inflict the pains and penalties, which they had pronounced against Aru-
feius and Sanquinius, the two informers against Lucius Arrun-
tius. The decision was honourable to Cotta; a man, it is true, of illustrious birth, but beggared by his vices, and for the pro-
fligacy of his manners universally abhorred. The redress, which
he now obtained, placed him on a level with the unblemished
excellence that distinguished the character of Arruntius.

Quintus Servæus and Minutius Thermus were, in the next place, both arraigned. The former was of prætorian rank, and had been the companion of Germanicus in all his expeditions; the latter was a Roman knight, who had enjoyed the friendship of Sejanus, but with reserve and moderation. Their misfortunes excited compassion. Tiberius declared against them both. He called them the principal agents in that dark conspiracy, and, for proof of the fact, desired that Cestius, a member of the senate, would give in evidence what he had written to the emperor. Cestius became their accuser.

Among the calamities of that black period, the most trying
grievance

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grievance was the degenerate spirit, with which the first men in the senate submitted to the drudgery of common informers; some without a blush, in the face of day; and others by clandestine artifices. The contagion was epidemic. Near relations, aliens in blood, friends and strangers, known and unknown, were, without distinction, all involved in one common danger. The fact recently committed, and the tale revived, were equally destructive. Words alone were sufficient; whether spoken in the forum, or amidst the pleasures of the table, was immaterial. Whatever the occasion or the subject (*a*), every thing was a constructive crime. Informers struggled, as it were in a race, who should be first to ruin his man; some to secure themselves; the greater part infected by the general corruption of the times.

Minutius and Servæus were both condemned, but saved themselves by giving evidence against others. They accused Julius Africanus, a native of Gaul, and Seius Quadratus, of whose origin no account remains. Of the various dangers that threatened numbers, and the execution of others, I am aware that no accurate account is to be found in the historians of the time. The writer sunk under the weight of his materials, and, feeling himself oppressed by the repetition of tragic events, was unwilling to fatigue his readers with the uniformity of blood and horror. It has happened, however, that, in the researches which I have made, several facts have come to light, untouched, it is true, by the pen of others, yet not unworthy of being recorded.

VIII. IN that dangerous crisis, when the creatures of Sejanus, denying their connections, were making from the wreck, Marcus Terentius, a Roman knight, had the spirit to avow his friendship in a speech to the following effect: "In my situation, " conscript fathers, I know the danger of owning myself the
" friend

“ friend of Sejanus ; and I know that to disclaim him alto-
 “ gether would be the best mode of defence. Be that as it
 “ may, I am willing to declare my sentiments. I was the friend
 “ of that minister ; I fought his patronage, and I gloried in it.
 “ I saw him associated with his father in the command of the
 “ prætorian bands : I saw him afterwards, not only at the head
 “ of the military department, but invested with the whole civil
 “ authority. His friends and relations rose to honours ; and to
 “ be in his good graces, was a sure road to the favour of the
 “ prince. On the other hand, all, on whom the minister
 “ frowned, were either crushed by the weight of power, or left
 “ to languish in obscurity. I forbear to mention names. Speak-
 “ ing in my own defence, I plead the cause of all who, like
 “ myself, were connected with the favourite, and, like myself,
 “ were unconscious of his last designs.

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“ In paying court to Sejanus, it was not the Vulsinian citizen,
 “ whom we endeavoured to conciliate ; it was a branch of the
 “ Claudian and the Julian families ; it was the son-in-law of
 “ Cæsar ; it was his colleague in the consulship ; it was his
 “ vicegerent in the administration, to whom our homage was
 “ offered. Is it the pleasure of the emperor to raise a favourite
 “ above his fellow citizens ? It is not for us to estimate the merit
 “ of the man, nor ours to weigh the motives that determine
 “ the choice. The supreme power is in the hands of the prince ;
 “ committed to him by the gods : and submission is the virtue of
 “ every citizen. Of the mysteries of state we see no more than
 “ what he is willing to reveal : we see who is raised to dig-
 “ nities, and who has power to distribute the rewards and the
 “ terrors of government. That the rays of majesty were col-
 “ lected, and fell on Sejanus, no man will deny. The senti-
 “ ments of the prince are to us impenetrable. The secret springs
 “ of

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“ of action it is not in our power to discover ; the attempt were
“ dangerous, and may deceive the ablest statesman.

“ When I speak of Sejanus, conscript fathers, I do not speak
“ of the minister, fallen from the height of power, undone, and
“ ruined. I speak of Sejanus, sixteen years in the meridian
“ of his glory. During that time, a Satrius Secundus and a
“ Pomponius commanded our respect. And if his freedmen,
“ or the porter at his gate, condescended to be gracious, we confi-
“ dered it as the highest honour. But to come to the point :
“ Shall this be the defence of all who followed the fortunes of
“ Sejanus ? By no means, conscript fathers ; draw the line your-
“ selves ; let the enemies of the commonwealth, and the con-
“ spirators against the prince, be delivered up to public justice ;
“ but let the offices of friendship remain inviolate ; and let the
“ principle, which justifies the choice of the prince, be at least an
“ apology for the subject.”

IX. THE firmness of this speech, and the spirit of the man, who could boldly utter what others only dared to think, made such an impression, that the prosecutors, for their former crimes added to their present malignity, were either driven into banishment, or condemned to death. Tiberius soon after sent an accusation against Sextus Vestilius, of prætorian rank, and formerly high in favour with Drusus, the emperor's brother. Tiberius, for that reason, had received him with open arms, and ranked him in the number of his intimate friends. The crime now laid to his charge was a satirical piece against Caligula, for which Vestilius, the real, or the supposed author, was excluded from the emperor's table. In despair, he opened a vein, but with the trembling hand of age. The wound was slight, and he tied it up again, in order to try the effect of a petition.

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Having received an obdurate answer, he once more made use of his weapon, and bled to death.

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The next prosecution was intended to make a sweep of a great number at once. Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Mamercus Scaurus, and Sabinus Calvicius, were grouped together in a charge of violated majesty. Vinicianus was added to his father Pollio. They were all men of the first rank, and some of them invested with the highest civil honours. The senate was struck with terror. Few in that assembly stood detached, either in point of friendship or alliance, from the persons accused. It happened that the evidence of Celsus, a tribune of the city cohorts, and one of the prosecutors, acquitted Appius Silanus and Calvicius. The trial of Pollio, Vinicianus, and Scaurus, was put off, by order of Tiberius, till he himself should think proper to attend in person. In the mean time, some pointed expressions in his letter plainly shewed that Scaurus was the chief object of his resentment.

X. NOT even the softer sex could find a shelter from the calamity of the times. Women, it is true, could not be charged with designs to overturn the government; but natural affection was made a crime, and the parental tear was treason. Vitia, the mother of Fufius Geminus, wept for her son, and for that offence, in an advanced age, she was put to death. Such were the horrible proceedings of the senate. Tiberius in his island was no less vindictive. By his order, Vesularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus, his two earliest friends, who had followed him to the isle of Rhodes, and still adhered to him in the isle of Capreæ, were hurried to execution. In the ruin of Libo, the first had been the active agent of the emperor; and in the plot, by which Sejanus wrought the downfall of Curtius Atticus,

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Marinus was the principal actor. The public saw, with pleasure, that the authors of destruction perished by their own pernicious arts.

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About this time Lucius Piso, the præfect of Rome (*a*), paid his debt to nature. He had lived his days with honour, and, what was rare in that black period, though high in rank and authority, he died by mere decay. A man of principle, and never, of his own motion, the author of harsh or violent measures; he was able frequently to prevent or mitigate destructive counsels. Piso the censor, as already mentioned, was his father. The son lived to the age of fourscore. By his services in the wars of Thrace he obtained triumphal ornaments; but his truest triumph, the glory of his character, arose from the wisdom, with which he acted as governor of Rome, tempering, with wonderful address, the rigour of an office, odious on account of its novelty, and rendered, by its duration, a galling yoke to the people.

XI. THE origin of this institution may be traced in the early ages of Rome. While the monarchy continued, and afterwards under the consular government, that the city might not be left, during the absence of the king or consuls, in a state of anarchy, a civil magistrate was invested with the whole executive authority. By Romulus, we are told, Romulus Denter was appointed; Numa Marcius, by Tullus Hostilius; and Spurius Lucretius (*a*), by Tarquin the Proud. That precedent was followed by the consuls; and, even at this day, we find an image of the custom in the temporary magistrate, who, during the Latin festivals, discharges the functions of the consul. In the time of the civil wars, Augustus delegated the supreme authority, both at Rome and throughout Italy, to Cilnius Mæcenas, a Roman

£ knight.

knight. When the success of his arms made him master of the empire, finding an unwieldy government on his hands, and a slow and feeble remedy from the laws, he chose a person of consular rank, to restrain, by speedy justice, the slaves within due bounds, and to controul the licentious spirit of the citizens, ever turbulent, and, if not overawed, prone to innovation. The first that rose to this important post was Messala Corvinus, who found himself unequal to the task, and resigned in a few days. Taurus Statilius succeeded, and, notwithstanding his advanced age, acquitted himself with honour and ability. Lucius Piso was the next in office. During a series of twenty years, he discharged the duties of that difficult station with such an even tenor, and such constant dignity, that, by a decree of the senate, he was honoured with a public funeral.

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XII. A REPORT relating to a book of the Sybils (*a*) was presented to the senate by Quintilianus, a tribune of the people. Caninius Gallus, who was of the college of fifteen, considered this book as the undoubted composition of the Cumæan prophets; and, as such, desired that, by a decree, it might be enrolled in the proper archives. The question was put, and carried (*b*) without opposition. Tiberius, by letter, condemned the whole proceeding. The youth of Quintilianus, he admitted, might be an apology for his ignorance of ancient customs; but he observed, and not without asperity, that it ill became a man like Gallus, versed in the science of laws and religious ceremonies, to adopt the performance of an uncertain author, without having first obtained the sanction of the quindecimviral college, and, without so much as reading it, as had been the practice, at a meeting of the pontiffs. Besides this, the vote was passed by surprise in a thin meeting of the senate. He added further, that since the world abounded with spurious productions, falsely

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ascribed to the venerable name of the ancient Sybil, it had been the wisdom of Augustus (*c*) to fix a stated day, on or before which all papers of the kind were to be deposited with the prætors, and none, after the limited time, to remain in private hands. For this regulation there was an ancient precedent. After the social war, when the Capitol was destroyed by fire, diligent search was made at Samos, at Ilium, at Erythræ, in Africa, Sicily, and all the Roman colonies, in order to collect the Sybilline verses, whether the production of a single prophets, or of a greater number; and the sacerdotal order had directions, as far as human sagacity could distinguish, to separate the fictitious from the genuine composition. In consequence of this letter, the book in question was referred to the college of fifteen, called the *QUINDECENVIRI*.

XIII. DURING the same consulship, the distress, occasioned by a dearth of corn, well nigh excited a popular insurrection. For several days the clamour in the theatre was outrageous beyond all former example. Tiberius wrote to the senate, and, in terms of keen reproach, censured the inactivity of the magistrates, who suffered the mutinous spirit of the populace to rage without controul; he stated the quantity of grain imported annually by his orders, and the provinces from which he drew his supplies, far exceeding the importation formerly made by Augustus. To restore the public tranquillity, the senate passed a decree in the style and spirit of the old republic. The consuls followed it with an edict of equal rigour. The emperor took no part in the business; but his silence gained him no popularity: he flattered himself with hopes that it would pass for the moderation of a republican prince; but it was deemed the fullen pride of a tyrant.

XIV. To-

XIV. TOWARDS the end of the year, three Roman knights, by name, Geminus, Celfus, and Pompeius, were charged with a conspiracy, and condemned to suffer. Geminus had been a man of pleasure, and great prodigality. His taste for expence and luxury recommended him to the friendship of Sejanus, but a friendship merely convivial, leading to no serious connection. Junius Celfus, at that time one of the tribunes, as he lay fettered in prison, contrived to lengthen out his chain, so as to wind it round his neck, and strangle himself.

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About the same time, Rubrius Fabatus, who had fled from the city, with intent to seek among the Parthians a refuge from the disasters of the time, was apprehended, by a centurion, near the streights of Sicily, and brought back to Rome. Being questioned, he was not able, with any colour of probability, to account for his sudden departure on so long a journey. He escaped, however, though not by an act of clemency. He continued to live in safety, not pardoned, but forgotten.

XV. SERVIUS GALBA and Lucius Sylla were the next consuls. Tiberius saw his (*a*) grand-daughters in the season of life, that made it proper to dispose of them in marriage. On that subject he had deliberated for some time. His choice, at length, fixed on Lucius Cassius and Marcus Vinicius. Vinicius was born at a small municipal town, known by the name of CALES. His father and grandfather were of consular rank; but the family, before their time, never rose higher than the equestrian order. Their descendant united to his amiable manners a vein of pleasing eloquence. Cassius was born at Rome, of a plebeian, but respected family. He was educated under the strict tuition of his father, but succeeded more through happiness than care and industry. To these two the daughters of Germanicus were given

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in marriage; Drusilla to Cassius, and Julia to Vinicius. Tiberius, in his letters to the senate, made honourable mention of the young men, but in a style of reserve. He touched on his long absence from the capital, and, after glossing it over with vague and frivolous reasons, talked in a more serious tone of the weight of government, and the animosities which he was obliged to encounter. He desired that Macro, præfect of the prætorian guards, with a small number of tribunes and centurions, might have directions to guard his person, as often as he should attend the senate. A decree was passed in the amplest form, according to his desire, without limitation of rank or number. Tiberius, notwithstanding, never appeared in the assembly of the fathers, nor even entered the walls of Rome. He made feigned approaches, still retreating through devious roads, suspecting the people, and flying from his country.

XVI. THE practice of usury was a grievance that distressed the whole community. Against such as sought to increase their wealth by placing out money (*a*) at exorbitant interest, actions were commenced. The money-lenders were accused under a law enacted by Julius Cæsar, whereby the terms of lending on land-security, throughout Italy, were defined and settled; a wise and salutary law, but fallen into disuse, the public good, as is too often the case, giving way to private advantage. Usury, it must be admitted, was an early canker of the commonwealth, the frequent cause of tumult and sedition. Laws were made to repress the mischief, while yet the manners were pure and uncorrupted. In the first ages of the commonwealth, interest of money was arbitrary, depending on the will and pleasure of the opulent; but, by a law of the twelve tables, it was reduced to one for the hundred. More was declared illegal. In process of time a new regulation, proposed by the tribunes, lowered it to one half; and, finally, it

was abolished altogether. It began however to revive, and, to suppress its growth, new sanctions were established by the authority of the people: but fraud found new expedients, often checked, and as often re-appearing in different shapes. In the reign of Tiberius, at the point of time now in question, the complaint was brought before Gracchus the prætor, who was empowered, by virtue of his office, to hear and determine. That magistrate, however, seeing numbers involved in the question, submitted the whole to the consideration of the senate. In that order few were exempt from the general vice. Alarmed for themselves, and wishing to obtain a general immunity, the fathers referred the business to the emperor. Tiberius complied with their request. A year and six months were granted, that men, in that time, might adjust and settle their accounts, according to law.

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XVII. THE want of current money brought on a new scene of distress. Creditors pressed to have their accounts balanced, and judgment was signed against such as stood indebted. Their effects were sold, and all the specie was either carried to the public treasury, or swallowed up in the coffers of the prince. To alleviate this inconvenience, the senate ordered, by a decree, that two thirds of each man's debt should be secured on lands in Italy. But still the creditors claimed the whole of their demand, and the debtor, by consequence, was reduced to the brink of ruin. He wished to save his honour; the necessity pressed; meetings were held, supplications were tried, but the law took its course. The tribunal of the prætor resounded with complaints, and noise, and lamentations. The project of obliging the debtor to sell his lands, and the creditors to purchase, instead of healing the mischief, made it worse. The usurers lay in wait to buy at a reduced price, and, for that purpose, hoarded up their money. The value of lands sunk in proportion to the number of estates on sale, and

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and the debtor was left without resource. Whole families were ruined; their credit was destroyed, and every prospect vanished. Tiberius interposed with seasonable relief. He opened a fund of one hundred thousand great sesterces, as a public loan for three years, free from interest, on condition that the borrower, for the security of the state, should mortgage lands of double the value. By this salutary aid public credit was revived. The money, which had lain in private hands, began to circulate; and the order of the senate, directing the sale of land-property, fell into disuse. Like most plans of reformation, it was embraced at first with ardour; but the novelty ceased, and the scheme ended in nothing.

XVIII. THE rage of prosecutions, from which Rome had an interval of rest, broke out again with collected fury. The first that suffered was Confidius Proculus, on a charge of violated majesty. On his birth-day, while he was celebrating that annual festival, he was seized, in the moment of joy, and conducted to the senate-house, where he was tried, condemned, and hurried away to execution. His sister, Sancia, was interdicted from fire and water. The prosecutor, who appeared against her, was Quintus Pomponius, a fierce and turbulent spirit. To curry favour with the prince, and thereby save his brother, Pomponius Secundus, was the pretence with which this man endeavoured to palliate his iniquity. The senate proceeded next against Pompeia Macrina. She was condemned to banishment. Her husband, Argolicus, and Laco, her father-in-law, both of distinguished rank in Achaia, had, before this time, fallen victims to the cruelty of Tiberius. Macrina's father, an illustrious Roman knight, and her brother, who was of prætorian rank, to avoid a similar sentence, put an end to their lives. The crime alleged against them, was, that their ancestor, Theophanes of Mitylene, had been the
confi-

confidential friend of Pompey the Great; and that divine honours were paid to the memory of Theophanes by the flattering genius of the Greek nation.

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XIX. SEXTUS MARIUS, who held the largest possessions in Spain, was the next victim. Incest with his own daughter was the imputed crime: he was precipitated down the Tarpeian rock. That the avarice of Tiberius was the motive for this act of violence, was seen beyond the possibility of a doubt, when the gold mines of the unfortunate Spaniard, which were forfeited to the public, were known to be seized by the emperor for his own use. He was now so far plunged in blood, that executions served only to whet his cruelty. At one blow, he ordered all, who were detained in prison for their supposed connection with Sejanus, to be put to instant death. A dreadful carnage followed: neither sex nor age was spared; the noble and ignoble perished without distinction; dead bodies in mangled heaps, or scattered up and down, presented a tragic spectacle. Neither friend, nor relation, dared to approach; none were permitted to soothe the pangs of death, to weep over the deceased, or to bid the last farewell. Guards were stationed to watch the looks of afflicted friends, and to catch intelligence from their tears, till, at length, the putrid bodies were thrown into the Tiber, to drive at the mercy of the winds and waves. Some were carried away by the current; others were thrown on shore: but to burn or bury them was allowed to no man. All were struck with terror, and the last office of humanity was suppressed. Cruelty went on increasing, and every sentiment of the heart was smothered in silence.

XX. ABOUT this time, Caligula, who paid close attendance on his grandfather in the isle of Capreæ, was married to Claudia (*a*), the daughter of Marcus Silanus. This young prince had

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the art to conceal, under a veil of modesty, the most detestable of human characters. Neither the condemnation of his mother, nor the banishment of his brother, could extort from him one word of compassion. He studied the humours of Tiberius; he watched the whim of the day, and set his features accordingly, in dress and language the mimic of his grandfather. Hence the shrewd remark of Paffienus, the famous orator: "There never was a better slave, nor a more detestable master." A prophetic expression, that fell from Tiberius concerning Galba, who was this year in the office of consul, may not unaptly be inserted in this place. Having called him to an audience, in order to penetrate his inmost thoughts, he tried him on various topics, and, at length, told him in Greek, "You too, Galba, at a future day, will have a taste of sovereign power;" alluding to his elevation late in life, and the shortness of his reign. To look into the seeds of time was the early study of Tiberius. In the isle of Rhodes, judicial astrology was his favourite pursuit. In the acquisition of that science, he there employed his leisure, under Thrafullus, whose abilities he tried in the following manner.

XXI. WHENEVER he chose to consult an astrologer, he retired with him to the top of the house, attended by a single freedman, selected for the purpose, illiterate, but of great bodily strength. This man conducted the soothsayer, whose talents were to be tried, along the ridge of the cliff, on which the mansion stood; and as he returned, if the emperor suspected fraud, or vain affectation of knowledge, he threw the impostor headlong into the sea. Tiberius was, by these means, left at ease, and no witness survived to tell the story. Thrafullus was put to the same test. Being led along the precipice, he answered a number of questions; and not only promised imperial splendor to Tiberius, but opened a scene of future events, in a manner that filled his imagination with

with astonishment. Tiberius desired to know, “whether he
 “had cast his own nativity? Could he foresee what was to hap-
 “pen in the course of the year? nay, on that very day?” Thra-
 fullus consulted the position of the heavens, and the aspect of the
 planets: he was struck with fear; he paused; he hesitated; he
 sunk into profound meditation; terror and amazement shook his
 frame. Breaking silence at last, “I perceive,” he said, “the
 “crisis of my fate; this very moment may be my last.” Tibe-
 rius clasped him in his arms, congratulating him both on his
 knowledge, and his escape from danger. From that moment, he
 considered the predictions of Thrafullus as the oracles of truth,
 and the astrologer was ranked in the number of the prince’s con-
 fidential friends.

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XXII. WHEN I reflect on this fact, and others of a similar
 nature, I find my judgment so much on the balance, that, whe-
 ther human affairs are governed (*a*) by fate and immutable neces-
 sity, or left to the wild rotation of chance, I am not able to decide.
 Among the philosophers of antiquity, and the followers of their
 different sects among the moderns, two opposite opinions have
 prevailed. According to the system of one party, “in all that
 “relates to man, his formation, his progress, and his end, the
 “gods have no concern; and, by consequence, calamity is often
 “the good man’s portion, while vice enjoys the pleasures and ad-
 “vantages of the world.” In opposition to this hypothesis, ano-
 ther school maintains, “that the immutable law of fate is per-
 “fectly consistent with the events of the moral world; that
 “law, they tell us, does not depend on the course of wandering
 “planets, but is fixed in the first principles of things, supported
 “and preserved by a chain of natural causes. Man, notwith-
 “standing, is left at liberty to choose his sphere of action; but
 “the choice once made, the consequences follow in a regular
 “course,

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“course, fixed, certain, and inevitable.” By this sect we are further taught, “that good and evil are not always what vulgar error has so defined; on the contrary, many, whom we see struggling with adversity, are yet perfectly happy; while others, in all the pride and affluence of fortune, are truly wretched. The former, by their fortitude, tower above the ills of life; and the latter, by their indiscretion, poison their own felicity.”

Sublime as this theory may be, there is still a third opinion, which has taken root in the human mind, and cannot be eradicated. According to this doctrine, the colour of our lives is fixed in the first moment of our existence; and, though what is foretold, and the events that follow, may often vary, the fallacy is not to be imputed to the art itself, but to the vanity of pretenders to a science, respected by antiquity, and in modern times established by undoubted proof. In fact, the reign of Nero was foretold by the son of this very Thrafullus: but this, to avoid a long digression, shall be reserved for its proper place (*b*).

XXIII. DURING the same consulship, the death of Asinius Gallus (*a*) became publicly known. That he died by famine, no man doubted; but whether through compulsion, or wilful abstinence, is uncertain. Application was made for leave to perform his funeral obsequies; nor did Tiberius blush to grant as a favour, what was the common right of man. He regretted, however, that a criminal, before he could be convicted in his presence, had escaped the hand of justice; as if in three years, since the charge was laid, there was not sufficient time to proceed against a man of consular rank, and the father of consuls.

The death of Drusus (*b*) followed. By order of Tiberius he was to be starved to death. By chewing the weeds that served

for his bed, the unhappy prince lingered nine days in misery. At the time when Macro received his orders to act with vigour against Sejanus, Tiberius, as some writers assert, gave directions, if that desperate minister had recourse to arms, that Drusus, then confined in the palace, should be produced to the people, and proclaimed emperor. In consequence of this report, an opinion prevailed, that the prince was on the point of being reconciled to his grandson and his daughter-in-law. But to relent was not in the temper of Tiberius: he was supposed to be mercifully inclined, and he chose rather to display his cruelty.

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XXIV. THE death of Drusus was not sufficient to satisfy the vengeance of Tiberius. He persecuted the memory of the prince with unextinguished hatred; he imputed to him unnatural passions, and represented him as a person, who had not only lost all family affection, but, being possessed of an aspiring genius, was actually employed in concerting measures to overturn the government. He ordered a day-book to be read before the fathers, in which the words and actions of Drusus were carefully recorded. In the annals of history is there any thing to match this black, this horrible inquisition? For a length of time spies of state were appointed to keep a register of words, to interpret looks, and note the groans that issued from the heart. That the grandfather could countenance a plot so black and detestable; that he could listen to the whispered tale; read a clandestine journal, and not only read it in secret, but produce it in the face of day, appears too atrocious to be believed, if the fact were not authenticated by the letters of Actius the centurion, and Didymus the freedman. In the narrative left by those men, we find the names of the slaves employed about the prince's person. One struck him, as he came forth from his chamber; another overpowered him with terror and dismay.

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The centurion, as if brutality were a merit, boasts of his savage expressions. He relates the words of the prince, in the last ebb of life, spoken against Tiberius, at first, perhaps, in a feigned delirium, but, when his end drew near, in a tone of solemn imprecation, imploring the gods, that he, who imbrued his hands in the blood of his daughter-in-law; who murdered his nephew; who destroyed his grand-children, and in his own family laid a scene of slaughter, might not escape the punishment due to his crimes. "Reserve him," he said, "reserve him, gods! for your own just vengeance: let him fall a terrible example to the present age, and to all posterity." The fathers, affecting to shudder at imprecations so eager and emphatic, interrupted the reading; but they felt the impression at their hearts. With horror and astonishment they beheld a tyrant, who, with close hypocrisy, had hitherto concealed his crimes, but was now so hardened, that, without shame or remorse, he could throw open prison-walls, and shew his grandson under the centurion's lash, exposed to common ruffians, and, in the agony of famine, begging a wretched pittance to support expiring nature, but begging it in vain.

XXV. THE grief occasioned by the melancholy death of Drusus had not subsided, when the public (*a*) received another shock from the tragic end of Agrippina. The fall of Sejanus afforded a gleam of hope, which, it may be conjectured, helped to support her spirits for some time: but when she saw no alteration of measures, worn out and tired of life, she resolved to close the scene. Her death was said to be voluntary; but if it be true, that all nourishment was withheld from her, it is evident that an artful tale was fabricated, to give the appearance of suicide to a cruel and barbarous murder. Even after her decease, Tiberius continued still implacable. He loaded her memory with the foulest imputations he charged her with incontinence; he pronounced Asi-

nius Gallus her adulterer; and when she lost her paramour, life, he said, was no longer worth her care. But the character of Agrippina was invulnerable. It is true, that a mind like hers could not brook an equal. Ambition was her ruling passion; and in her views of grandeur the soft desires of her sex were lost. Tiberius added, as a circumstance worthy of being recorded, that she died on the anniversary of the day that freed the world from Sejanus two years before. That she was not strangled, and thrown into the common charnel-house, he thought fit to celebrate as an act of clemency. The senate thanked him for that tender indulgence, and ordained, by a decree, that the fifteenth before the calends of November (the day on which Sejanus and Agrippina both expired) should be observed as a solemn festival, with annual offerings on the altar of Jupiter.

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XXVI. SOON after these transactions, Cocceius Nerva (*a*), the constant companion of the prince, a man distinguished by his knowledge of laws, both human and divine, possessing a splendid fortune, and still in the vigour of health, grew weary of life, and formed a resolution to lay the burthen down. Tiberius, on the first intelligence, paid him a visit; he entered into close conversation; he desired to know his motives; he expostulated, tried the force of entreaty, and declared, without reserve, that if a man, so high in favour, without any apparent reason, put an end to his life, it would be a stab to the emperor's peace of mind, and a stain indelible to his reputation. Nerva declined the subject. He persisted in wilful abstinence, and shortly after closed his days. From those who best knew his character and way of thinking, we learn the reasons of his conduct. He saw the cloud that was ready to burst on the commonwealth, and struck, at once, with fear and indignation, he resolved, while yet his honour was unblemished, to escape with glory from the horrors of the time.

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Extraordinary as it may seem, the death of Agrippina drew after it the ruin of Plancina. She was formerly the wife of Cneius Piso. The reader will remember the savage joy, with which she heard of the death of Germanicus. When her husband perished, the influence of Livia, and, still more, the enmity of Agrippina, screened her from the punishment due to her crimes. But court-favour and private animosity were at an end, and justice took its course. The charge against her was founded on facts of public notoriety. In despair she laid violent hands on herself, and suffered, at last, the slow, but just reward of a flagitious life.

XXVII. AMIDST the tragic events that covered the city of Rome with one general face of mourning, a new cause of discontent arose from the marriage of Julia (the daughter of Drusus (*a*), and lately the wife of Nero) with Rubellius Blandus, whose grandfather, a native of Tibur, and never of higher distinction than the equestrian rank, was fresh in the memory of men still living. Towards the end of the year, the funeral of Ælius Lamia was celebrated with all the honours of the censorian order. He had been for some time the nominal governor of Syria, and having resigned that imaginary title, was made præfect of Rome. Illustrious by his birth, he lived to a vigorous old age; and, not being suffered to proceed to the province of Syria, he derived from that very restraint additional dignity (*b*).

The death of Pomponius Flaccus (*c*), proprætor of Syria, which happened soon after the decease of Lamia, produced a letter from Tiberius to the senate, remonstrating, that officers of rank, who by their talents were fit to be at the head of armies, declined the service; and, by consequence, the emperor was reduced to the necessity of requesting, that the fathers would use their influence, to induce men of consular rank to undertake the office. - He forgot,

got, however, that, ten years before, Arruntius was appointed to the government of Spain, but, during that whole time, never permitted to leave the city.

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In the course of this year died Manius Lepidus (*d*), whose wisdom and moderation have been already mentioned. To say anything of the nobility of his birth were superfluous, since it is well known, that the house of the Æmili, from whom he derived his pedigree, produced a race of eminent citizens. If any of the family degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, they continued, notwithstanding, to support the splendour of an ancient and illustrious race.

XXVIII. PAULUS FABIVS and Lucius Vitellius (*a*) succeeded to the consulship. In the course of the year, the miraculous bird, known to the world by the name of the phoenix (*b*), after disappearing for a series of ages, revisited Ægypt. A phenomenon so very extraordinary could not fail to produce abundance of curious speculation. The learning of Ægypt was displayed, and Greece exhausted her ingenuity. The facts, about which there seems to be a concurrence of opinions, with other circumstances, in their nature doubtful, yet worthy of notice, will not be unwelcome to the reader.

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That the phoenix is sacred to the sun, and differs from the rest of the feathered species, in the form of its head, and the tincture of its plumage, are points settled by the naturalists. Of its longevity, the accounts are various. The common persuasion is, that it lives five hundred years, though by some writers the date is extended to fourteen hundred and sixty-one. The several æras, when the phoenix has been seen, are fixed by tradition. The first, we are told, was in the reign of Sesostris (*c*); the second, in that of

Amasis;

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Amasis; and in the period when Ptolemy, the third of the Macedonian race, was seated on the throne of Ægypt, another phoenix directed its flight towards Heliopolis, attended by a groupe of various birds, all attracted by the novelty, and gazing with wonder at so beautiful an appearance. For the truth of this account, we do not presume to answer. The facts lie too remote, and, covered, as they are, with the mists of antiquity, all further argument is suspended.

From the reign of Ptolemy to Tiberius, the intermediate space is not quite two hundred and fifty years. From that circumstance it has been inferred by many that the last phoenix was neither of the genuine kind, nor came from the woods of Arabia. The instinctive qualities of the species were not observed to direct its motions. It is the genius, we are told, of the true phoenix, when its course of years is finished, and the approach of death is felt, to build a nest in its native clime, and there deposit the principles of life, from which a new progeny arises. The first care of the young bird, as soon as fledged, and able to trust to its wings, is to perform the obsequies of his father. But this duty is not undertaken rashly. He collects a quantity of myrrh, and, to try his strength, makes frequent excursions with a load on his back. When he has made his experiment through a long tract of air, and gains sufficient confidence in his own vigour, he takes up the body of his father, and flies with it to the altar of the sun, where he leaves it to be consumed in flames of fragrance. Such is the account of this extraordinary bird. It has, no doubt, a mixture of fable; but that the phoenix, from time to time, appears in Ægypt, seems to be a fact sufficiently ascertained.

XXIX. ROME continued to stream with the blood of eminent citizens. Pomponius Labeo, who had been, as already mentioned,
governor

governor of Myfia, opened his veins, and bled to death. His wife Paxæa had the spirit to follow his example. Suicide was the only refuge from the hand of the executioner. Those who waited for the sentence of the law, incurred a forfeiture, and were, besides, deprived of the rites of sepulture; while to such as died by their own hand funeral ceremonies were allowed, and their wills were valid. Such was the reward of dispatch! (*a*) Self-destruction was made the interest of mankind. On the subject of Labeo's death, Tiberius wrote to the senate. He observed, "that in ancient times, when
 "all ties of friendship were to be dissolved, it was the custom to
 "give notice to the discarded party, that his visits were no longer
 "agreeable. In that manner he had acted with Labeo: all connection was at an end. But that unhappy man, finding himself charged with the iniquity of his government, and pressed
 "by the weight of other crimes, made a shew of injured innocence, with intent to throw the odium of his death on the
 "emperor. The example was fatal to his wife. She took the
 "alarm, and perished with her husband. She might have quelled
 "her fears; for, though her guilt was manifest, she might have
 "lived in safety."

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A new prosecution was commenced against Mamercus Scaurus (*b*), a distinguished senator, famous as well for his eloquence as the nobility of his birth, but a libertine in his conduct. He had been connected with Sejanus, but on that account no danger threatened him. The enmity of Macro, who practised the wiles of Sejanus, but with deeper policy, was the cause of his ruin. A tragedy, written by Scaurus, was the ground of the charge. Some lines were cited from the piece, and, by a strained construction, said to point obliquely at Tiberius. But to make sure work, Servilius and Cornelius, two informers by profession, accused him of adultery with the younger Livia (*c*), and of secret practices

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in the magic art. Scaurus, with a spirit worthy of the ancient Æmilii, from whom he was descended, resolved not to linger for a public sentence. His wife Sexitia exhorted him to an act of bravery, and died herself, with the courage which she recommended.

XXX. AMIDST these acts of violence, the informers, in their turn, were abandoned to their fate. Servilius and Cornelius, who, by their conduct to Scaurus, had brought on themselves the public detestation, were charged with taking a bribe, to compound a prosecution commenced by themselves against Varius Ligur. They were both interdicted from fire and water, and transported to the islands. A similar fate attended Abudius Rufo. This man had discharged the office of ædile, and also served, at the head of a legion, under Lentulus Gætulicus. He turned informer against his commanding officer, alleging that he had projected a match between his daughter and one of the sons of Sejanus. He construed this into a crime, and, for the attempt, was banished from Rome. At the time when this prosecution was set on foot, Gætulicus commanded the legions in Upper Germany. Distinguished by his clemency, and without rigour maintaining military discipline, he was the idol of the soldiers. By his interest with his father-in-law, Lucius Apronius, he was also high in credit with the other army, which was stationed at a small distance. In this situation, it is said, not without probability, that he had the courage to dispatch a letter to Tiberius, to the following effect: “ The proposed alliance with Sejanus did not originate with himself: the emperor had recommended it. The meanest citizen is liable to error, no less than the prince. To mistake with impunity cannot be the prerogative of the emperor, and, at the same time, a crime in others. For himself, his fidelity remained inviolate, and, if no snare was laid for his ruin, nothing could shake his principles. Should a successor be sent to supersede him

“ him in the command, he should understand it as the prologue
 “ to a sentence of condemnation. But there were conditions, on
 “ which something like a treaty between both parties might be
 “ settled : he desired to remain unmolested in the government of
 “ the province, and Tiberius might give the law to the rest of the
 “ Roman world.” Incredible as this anecdote may appear, it
 gains an air of authenticity, when it is considered, that, of all the
 favourites of Sejanus, Gætulicus was the only person who had
 the secret to preserve his life, and live in the good graces of the
 prince. The truth is, Tiberius knew that he had incurred the
 public hatred. Worn out with age and infirmities, he was wise
 enough to reflect, that fame and the opinion of mankind, rather
 than the exercise of power, must for the future be the pillars of
 his government.

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XXXI. IN the consulship of Caius Cestius (*a*) and Marcus
 Servilius, a deputation from the Parthian nobility, without the
 concurrence or privity of Artabanus, their king, arrived at Rome.
 While the arms of Germanicus filled the east with terror, that
 monarch continued to adhere with good faith to the Romans, and
 to rule his own dominions with equity and moderation. He
 broke out afterwards with open violence ; to Rome, proud and
 arrogant ; to his people, fierce and unrelenting. The prosperous
 events of war with the neighbouring nations inspired him with the
 pride and insolence of victory. He saw Tiberius, in the decline
 of life, a feeble prince (*b*), disarmed, and powerless. Armenia
 was the object of his ambition. Artaxias (*c*), king of the coun-
 try, was no sooner dead, than he placed his eldest son, Arfaces,
 on the vacant throne. His arrogance did not stop there. By his
 ambassadors he demanded, in haughty and imperious terms, im-
 mediate restitution of the treasures left by Vonones (*d*) in Syria
 and Cilicia. He laid claim, besides, to all the territories, formerly

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belonging to the Persians and Macedonians. He added, in a style of vain glory, that whatever was possessed by Cyrus, and afterwards by Alexander, was his undoubted right, and he was determined to recover the same by force of arms.

The Parthians, in the mean time, by the advice of Sinnaces, a man of great opulence and noble birth, sent their secret embassy to Rome. The measure was supported by Abdus (*e*), the eunuch. In the eastern nations the loss of manhood is no degradation: on the contrary, it leads to power and preferment. With those two leading chiefs the grandees of Parthia entered into a conspiracy. But still to wear the regal diadem, one only of the race of the Arsacides could be found. The greatest part of that family was cut off by Artabanus, and the survivors were too young to govern. The Parthians, therefore, desired that Tiberius would send Phraates (*f*), son of the king of that name, to mount the throne of his ancestors. That title, and the sanction of Rome, would be sufficient. Let a prince of the house of Arsaces, under the protection of Tiberius, shew himself on the banks of the Euphrates, and nothing more was necessary: a revolution would be the certain consequence.

XXXII. THE enterprise was agreeable to the wishes of Tiberius. He dispatched Phraates, enriched with presents, and every mark of splendour suited to the royal dignity. But still it was his fixed plan not to depart from his former resolution to work by stratagem, and, if possible, to avoid a war. The secret transpired at the Parthian court. Artabanus was thrown into a state of violent perplexity. Revenge and fear took possession of him by turns. In the idea of an eastern monarch, indecision is the mark of a servile mind. Vigour and sudden enterprise are attributes of the royal character. In the present juncture, those notions gave way,

way, and his interest conquered prejudices. He invited Abdus to a banquet, and, by a slow poison, rendered him unfit for action. With Sinnaces he thought it best to dissemble. He loaded him with presents, and, by employing him in state affairs, left him no leisure for clandestine machinations. Meanwhile Phraates arrived in Syria. Willing to conform to the customs of the east, he threw off the dress and manners of the Romans. The transition, however, was too violent; and his constitution proving unequal to so sudden a change, he was carried off by a fit of illness. Tiberius was unwilling to relinquish a measure which he had once approved. He named Tiridates, descended from the same stock with Phraates, as a fit rival to contend with Artabanus.

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In order to recover the kingdom of Armenia, he entered into an alliance with Mithridates, a prince of the Iberian line, having beforehand contrived to reconcile him to his brother Pharasmanes, then the reigning monarch of Iberia. An important scene was now opening in the east. To conduct the whole, Tiberius gave the command to Lucius Vitellius (*a*). The character of this officer is well known. He shewed himself in his true colours to the people of Rome, inasmuch that his memory is to this hour held in detestation. In the east, however, his conduct was irreproachable. He acted in the province with the integrity of an ancient Roman. After his return he renounced that character altogether, a ready apostate from every virtue. His dread of Caligula, and his intimacy with Claudius, transformed him into an abject slave. He is now remembered as a model of the vilest adulation. What was praise-worthy in the beginning of his days, changed to infamy in his riper years. The virtues of youth gave way to the vices of age.

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XXXIII. MITHRIDATES was the first of the petty kings of Asia, who took a decisive part. He drew his brother Pharasmanes into the league, and engaged that monarch to employ both force and stratagem to promote the enterprise. By their agents they bribed the servants of Arsaces to end their master's life by poison. The Iberians, in the mean time, entered Armenia with a numerous army, and took possession of the city of Artaxata. On the first intelligence Artabanus dispatched his son Orodes, at the head of the Parthian forces, to oppose the enemy, and, in the mean time, sent out his officers to negotiate for a body of auxiliaries. Pharasmanes, on his part, spared no pains to reinforce his army. He engaged the Albanians in his service. He lifted the Sarmatians; but a part of that people, called the Sceptucians, were willing, according to the custom of the nation, to be hired by any of the powers at war, the ready mercenaries in every quarrel. They were at that time actually engaged on both sides, and of course divided against themselves. The Iberians, having secured the defiles and narrow passes of the country, poured down from the Caspian mountains a large body of their Sarmatian auxiliaries, and soon over-ran all Armenia. The Parthians were not able to advance. The enemy was in force at every post, one only road excepted, and that, extending between the Caspian sea and the mountains of Albania, was impassable in the summer months. In that season of the year, the Etesian (*a*) winds blow constantly one way, and, driving the waves before them, lay the country under water. In the winter, the wind from the south rolls the flood back into the deep, and leaves the country a dry and naked shore.

XXXIV. WHILE Orodes saw his succours cut off, Pharasmanes with augmented numbers advanced against him. He

offered battle; but the enemy declined the conflict. The Iberian rode up to the entrenchments; he endeavoured to provoke the enemy; he cut off their forage, and invested their camp. The Parthians, not used to brook dishonour, gathered in a body round the prince, and demanded the decision of the sword. Their main strength consisted in their cavalry. Pharasmanes added to his horse a large body of infantry. His own subjects, and the forces from Albania, dwelling chiefly in wilds and forests, were inured, by their mode of life, to labour and fatigue. If we may believe the account which they give of their origin, they are descended from the people of Thessaly, who followed Jason when that adventurer, having issue by Medea, returned to Colchis, on the death of Æetes, to take possession of the vacant throne. Concerning the Greek hero, and the oracle of Phryxus (*a*), various traditions are current amongst them. For the last their veneration is such, that in their sacrifices a ram is never offered as a victim, the people conceiving that Phryxus was conveyed across the sea by an animal of that species, or in a ship with that figure at the head. The two armies were drawn out in order of battle. Orodes, to animate the valour of his men, called to mind the glory of the eastern empire, and the race of the Arfacides. “They were now to cope with a
“band of mercenaries, led by an Iberian chief, of mean ex-
“traction, ignoble, and obscure.” In the opposite army, Pharasmanes pressed every topic that could inflame the ardour of his troops. “They were the men who never yielded to the
“Parthian yoke: they fought now for conquest: the more bold:
“the enterprize, the greater would be their glory. If they gave
“ground, or turned their backs on the enemy, shame and ruin
“would pursue them. Look round,” he said, “and view both
“armies. Behold on our side a dreadful front of war; on that
“of the enemy an unwarlike band of Medes, gay in their
“apparel,

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“ apparel, and glittering with gold. Here we have men and
“ steel ; there cowards, and booty to reward our valour.”

XXXV. IN the Sarmatian ranks it was not the general only that harangued the men. By mutual exhortations, according to their custom, they roused each other's valour. They resolved to reserve their darts, and rush on to a close engagement. The field of battle presented an attack in different forms. The Parthians, skilled alike in the onset and the retreat, endeavoured to open their ranks, in order to gain room for the discharge of their arrows. The Sarmatians threw their bows aside, determined with their swords and pikes to decide the fortune of the day. In one place was seen an engagement of the cavalry ; they advanced to the charge ; they wheeled about ; they changed with sudden velocity. In another quarter the infantry fought hand to hand, and buckler to buckler. They attacked, and were repulsed ; they wounded, and were wounded. The Iberians and Albanians grappled with the enemy ; they pulled them by main force from their horses ; they distracted them by two different modes of engaging. Their cavalry rushed on, and their infantry stood close embodied. The two adverse generals, Orodes and Pharasmanes, exerted every effort. They rushed into the heat of the action ; they encouraged the brave ; they rallied the broken ranks, and signified themselves in every part of the field. Conspicuous to all, at length they knew each other. At the sight, with instinctive fury, their horses at full speed, they rushed forward to the charge, bellowing revenge, and darting their javelins. Pharasmanes, with a well-directed weapon, pierced the helmet of Orodes ; but, hurried on by the fury of his horse, he was not able to pursue his advantage. Orodes was sheltered by his guards, who flew to his assistance. A report that he was slain spread through the ranks. Th
spirit

spirit of the Parthians began to droop, and victory declared for the Iberians.

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XXXVI. ARTABANUS, to repair the loss, marched with the whole strength of his kingdom. The Iberians knew the course of the country, and by their valour gained a second victory. The Parthian, notwithstanding, kept the field till such time as Vitellius advanced with his legions, intending, as was industriously given out, to enter Mesopotamia. To avoid a war with Rome, the Parthian king abandoned Armenia, and returned to his own dominions. From that time his ruin may be dated. Vitellius carried on a correspondence with the leading men of Parthia, and, to incite them to a revolt, represented Artabanus as a king, cruel in time of peace, and in war disastrous to the whole nation. Sinnaces, at the head, as already mentioned, of a powerful faction, drew to his interest his father, Abdageses, and other malecontents, who were now, by the unprosperous events of war, determined to throw off the mask. A great number, through fear, and not from principle, hitherto inactive, went over to the disaffected. Artabanus found himself deserted on every side. He had only one expedient left. He chose for his body-guard a band of mercenaries, men void of honour, the outcasts of their country, to good and evil, vice and virtue, alike indifferent, and for their hire ready to perpetrate every crime. With these attendants the fugitive monarch fought the frontiers of Scythia. His ruined cause, he still hoped, would find support from the Carmanians, and the people of Hyrcania, with whom he was connected by ties of affinity. He relied, moreover, on the fickle temper of the Parthians. A wavering and inconstant people, always disgusted with the reigning prince, and, after his expulsion, prone to repent, might act towards himself with the same versatility, and once more declare in his favour.

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XXXVII. THE throne being in this manner vacant, and the Parthians, in their rage for innovation, appearing ready to embrace a new master, Vitellius thought it time to fire the ambition of Tiridates, and, to support him in the enterprize, marched with the auxiliaries, and the strength of his legions, to the banks of the Euphrates. In order to propitiate the river god (*a*), preparations were made for a solemn sacrifice. The Roman, according to the rites of his country, offered a swine, a ram, and a bull: a horse was the victim slain by Tiridates. While they were thus employed, the people of the country came in with an account that the Euphrates, without any fall of rain, swelled miraculously above its banks, and, the waves with a rapid motion turning round in circling eddies, the foam on the surface presented the form of a diadem. This was deemed a favourable omen. By others, who judged with more penetration, the prognostic was seen in a different light. According to their interpretation, it promised success at first, and a speedy reverse of fortune. In support of this opinion it was observed, that the earth and heavens hold forth unerring signals: but the omens, collected from the appearance of rivers, were, like the element from which they spring, always uncertain. They appear and vanish in a moment.

A bridge of boats being prepared, the whole army passed over the Euphrates. While they lay encamped, Ornospades, at the head of a large body of cavalry, amounting to several thousands, came in as an auxiliary. This man was a native of Parthia, formerly banished from his country; but for his services under Tiberius, during the war in Dalmatia (*b*), admitted to the privileges of a Roman citizen. Being afterwards reconciled to his native prince, he rose to the first honours of the state, and was appointed governor of that whole region which
lies

lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, for that reason called MESOPOTAMIA (*c*). Sinnaces, in a short time after, joined the army with a strong reinforcement. Abdageses, the pillar of the party, delivered up the royal treasure, and the richest ornaments of the crown. Vitellius considered the business as finished. The Roman eagles appeared on the banks of the Euphrates, and more was unnecessary. He gave his best advice to Tiridates, and the authors of the revolution. Addressing himself to the prince, "Remember," he said, "that you are the grandson of Phraates, and that you have been trained up by Tiberius: let that reflection be ever present to your mind: it will animate you in the career of glory." He exhorted the grandees of Parthia to pay obedience to their king, and due respect to the Roman name. By being faithful to both, they would at once fulfil their engagements, and maintain their honour. Having made this arrangement, he returned with his legions into Syria.

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XXXVIII. IN relating these transactions, I have thrown together, in one connected series, the business of two campaigns; in order, by a view of Asiatic affairs, to relieve the attention of the reader, and give the mind some respite from domestic misery. From the death of Sejanus three years had elapsed, and yet neither time nor supplications, nor even a deluge of blood, could soften the cruelty of Tiberius. Things that mitigate the resentment of others, made no impression on that unforgiving temper. Crimes of an ancient date were revived as recent facts, and charges without proof passed for demonstrations of guilt. The band of informers joined in a league against Fulcinus Trio (*a*). That citizen, knowing that his fate was determined, put an end to his life. In his will he spoke in the bitterest terms of Macro, and the emperor's freedmen.

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Nor did he spare Tiberius. His understanding, he said, was reduced by years and infirmity to a state of dotage, and his long absence was no better than banishment from his country. These reflections the heirs of Trio wished to suppress; but Tiberius ordered the will to be read in public; perhaps to shew the world that he could allow full liberty of thinking, and despise the censure that pointed at himself; perhaps, having been for many years blind to the villany of Sejanus, he chose, at last, that invectives of every sort should be brought to light, to the end that truth, always warped by flattery, might reach his ear, though undisguised, and at the expence of his reputation. About the same time died by his own hand Granius Martianus, a member of the senate, who found himself attacked by Caius Gracchus on the law of violated majesty. Tattius Granius, who had served the office of prætor, was prosecuted in like manner, and condemned to suffer death.

XXXIX. THE same fate attended Trebellienus Rufus (*a*) and Sextius Paconianus: the former dispatched himself, and the latter, for some sarcastic verses against the emperor, the production of his prison-hours, was strangled in the jail. Of all these tragic scenes Tiberius had the earliest intelligence; not, as before, by messengers that crossed the sea to the isle of Capræ; he heard the news in the very neighbourhood of Rome, hovering about the city at so small a distance, that often on the same day, or, at most, a single night intervening, the consuls received his answers to their dispatches, and his final orders for immediate vengeance. He placed himself in a situation so near the theatre of horror, that he could almost see the blood that streamed in every family, and hear the stroke of the executioner.

Towards the end of the year died Poppæus Sabinus (*b*), a
man

man of humble birth, but, by the partiality of two emperors, raised to the consulship, and distinguished by triumphal honours. During a series of four-and-twenty years, the government of considerable provinces was committed to his care, not for any extraordinary talents, but because he had a capacity of a level for business, and not above it.

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XL. THE next consulship was that of Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papinius. In the course of this year Lucius Aruseius and others died under the hand of the executioner: their fate, however cruel, passed unheeded among the common occurrences of the time. Scenes of blood were grown familiar, and made no impression. And yet the fate of Vibulenus Agrippa was attended with circumstances that struck a general panic. His trial came on before the senate. As soon as the prosecutors closed their case, he swallowed a deadly poison, which he had concealed under his robe, and instantly expired. He was seized, notwithstanding, and in that condition dragged to a dungeon, where the lictor fastened his cord (*a*) round the neck of a dead man. Even Tigranes (*b*), who had formerly swayed the sceptre of Armenia, suffered without distinction. The title of royalty did not exempt him from the lot of a common citizen.

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Caius Galba (*c*), of consular rank, and the two Blæsi, embraced a voluntary death; Galba, because by letters from Tiberius, written in terms of acrimony, he was excluded from the usual mode of obtaining a province by lot; and the Blæsi, because the order of priesthood, which had been promised in their day of prosperity, was, since they were no longer in favour, withheld from them, and to those vacant dignities others were appointed. A step so decisive they considered as nothing less than a signal to die; and they obeyed.

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Æmilia Lepida (*d*), whose marriage with Drusus has been mentioned, remained, during the life of Lepidus her father, in perfect security, but detested by the public. Her protector being now no more, the informers seized their opportunity, and accused her of adultery with a slave. Of her guilt no doubt was entertained. She made no defence, but executed justice on herself.

XLI. ABOUT this time the Cliteans, a people subject to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, impatient of being taxed according to the system practised in the Roman provinces, made a secession to the heights of mount Taurus. Being there possessed of the advantage-ground, they were able to defend themselves against their sovereign, and his unwarlike troops. To quell the insurgents, Vitellius, governor of Syria, dispatched Marcus Trebellius, at the head of four thousand legionary soldiers, and a select detachment of auxiliaries. The Barbarians had taken post on two hills; the least was called CADRA, and the other DAVARA. Trebellius inclosed both with lines of circumvallation. All who dared to sally out were put to the sword; the rest were reduced by thirst and famine.

Meanwhile, Tiridates was well nigh established on the throne of Parthia. The cities of Nicephorium, Anthemusia, and other places, originally settled by the Macedonians, and from their founders deriving names of Greek termination, opened their gates to the new monarch. Halus and Artemita, two Parthian cities, followed the example; the people every where vying with each other in demonstrations of joy. A revolution by which Artabanus, a tyrant bred among the Scythians, was driven from the throne, gave universal satisfaction to the Parthians. They knew that Tiridates had been educated among the Romans,

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and, from his arts of civilization, expected a mild and equitable government.

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XLII. THE inhabitants of Seleucia (*a*) declared for the new king in a style of flattery that exceeded all their neighbours. Seleucia is a fortified city of considerable strength. The barbarity of Parthian manners never gained admission amongst them. Being a colony planted by Seleucus, they still retained the institutions of their Grecian founder. A body of three hundred, chosen for their wealth or superior wisdom, gave the form of a senate. The people have their share in the government. When both orders act with a spirit of union, they are too strong for the Parthians. If they clash among themselves, and one faction looks abroad for support, the foreign prince, who arrives as the friend of a party, becomes the oppressor of all. In the reign of Artabanus this fatal consequence was actually felt. That monarch threw the whole weight into the scale of the nobles, and the people, by consequence, were surrendered as the slaves of a violent aristocracy. This form of government was agreeable to the ideas of eastern despotism. A regular democracy holds too much of civil liberty, while the domination of the few differs but little from absolute monarchy.

The reception of Tiridates at Seleucia was splendid beyond all example. To the homage which the practice of ages had established, new honours were added by the inventive genius of flattery. Amidst the applause and acclamations of the people, reproaches loud and vehement were thrown out against Artabanus, a man related, by the maternal line only, to the house of the Arsacidæ, and, by his actions, a disgrace to the name. Tiridates sided with the people of Seleucia, and restored the democracy. A day for his coronation was still to be fixed. While

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that business was in agitation, dispatches arrived from Hiero and Phraates, two leading men, and governors of extensive provinces. They desired that the ceremony might be deferred for a few days. A request from men of their importance came with weight, and was accordingly followed. The court, in the mean time, removed to Ctesiphon, the capital of the empire, and the seat of government. New delays were thrown in the way by the two grandees, and the business of the coronation was protracted from time to time. At length the regent of the country, called the SURENA (*b*), proceeded, according to the national custom, to solemnize the inauguration of the king. In the presence of a numerous assembly, and amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, he invested Tiridates with the regal diadem.

XLIII. If, after this ceremony, Tiridates had penetrated at once into the heart of the kingdom, and shewn himself to the interior provinces, by that decisive step the minds of such as wavered had been fixed, and the prince had mounted the throne with the consent of the nation. He staid imprudently to amuse himself with the siege of a castle, in which were lodged the concubines of Artabanus, with all the royal treasure. The delay gave time for treachery and revolt. Phraates, Hiero, and others of the nobility, who were not present at the coronation, turned their thoughts, with their usual love of innovation, towards the deposed king. For this conduct their motives were various. Some acted from their fears, and others from their ill will to Abdageses, who had gained the supreme authority at court, and the entire ascendant over the new monarch. The malecontents went in quest of Artabanus. He was found in Hyrcania, covered with wretchedness, and with his bow and arrow procuring his daily sustenance. On the first appearance of his friends, he

was seized with terror, suspecting nothing less than treachery, and a design against his life. Being assured of their fidelity, and their resolution to restore him to his dominions, he felt his hopes revived; and whence, he said, this sudden change? Hiero gave the answer: "Tiridates is no better than a boy; nor is the royal dignity vested in a prince descended from the line of the Arsacidæ. Enervated by the luxuries of Rome, the stripling contents himself with the shadow of authority, while the whole power of the state is in the hands of Abdageses."

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XLIV. THE politic king, formed during a long reign in the school of experience, knew that men, whose friendship is fallacious, may notwithstanding be believed, when they avow their hatred. Without loss of time he raised a supply of men among the Scythians, and marched forward with intent to give no time either to the arts of his enemies, or the natural levity of his friends. The fordid habit in which he was found, he still continued to wear; hoping, by his wretched appearance, to make an impression on the passions of the multitude. He omitted nothing that could serve his cause; by fraud, by entreaty, by every artifice, he tried to allure the wavering, and to animate the brave. By rapid marches he soon reached the neighbourhood of Seleucia, at the head of a powerful army.

Tiridates, alarmed at the news of his approach, and, soon after terrified at his actual presence, began to deliberate about the measures in that exigence fittest to be pursued. Should he try the issue of a battle, or draw the war into length? In his councils there was nothing like decision. The officers of warlike spirit were for a sudden blow, while the rash levies of Artabanus, out of heart, fatigued by their march, and not yet united by principle, had as yet no affection for a king whom they had so

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lately deposed. Traitors yesterday, they were now no better than pretended friends. Abdageses was of a contrary opinion. To retreat into Mesopotamia was, in his judgment, the safest measure. Having gained the opposite side of the river, Tiridates might there stand at bay, till the Armenians, the Elymæans, and other nations in their rear, had time to take the field. Succours might be expected from the Roman general. When their forces were all assembled, it would then be time to hazard a battle. This measure was adopted. Abdageses was high in authority, and the unwarlike genius of Tiridates shrunk from danger. Their retreat had the appearance of an army put to the rout. The consequences were fatal. The Arabs were the first to abandon Tiridates: a general defection followed. Some betook themselves to their native home, and others went over to the standard of Artabanus. Tiridates, with an handful of men, passed into Syria, and by his conduct made the apology of all who deserted his cause. None had reason to blush for betraying a man, who betrayed himself.

XLV. IN the course of this year a dreadful fire broke out at Rome, and laid mount Aventine, with part of the adjoining circus, in ashes. Tiberius had the address to turn this calamity to his own glory. He ordered the value of the houses and insulated mansions (*a*), which were destroyed, to be paid to the respective owners. The sum amounted to no less than one hundred thousand great sesterces. The munificence of the prince was the more applauded, as building, for his own use, was not his taste. The temple of Augustus, and Pompey's Theatre, were his only public structures. When both were finished, he did not so much as think of dedicating them; perhaps, to shew his contempt of fame; perhaps, because old age had sunk his vigour. To estimate the damage sustained by each individual,

his

his four sons-in-law were appointed, namely, Cneius Domitius, Cassius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus. At the desire of the consuls Publius Petronius was added to the commission. Public honours were decreed to the emperor with all the variety that adulation could suggest. Which were acceptable, and which rejected, is uncertain; since he was then near his end, and perhaps never declared his mind.

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In a short time after, Cneius Acerronius and Caius Pontius entered on the consulship, and it was their lot to close the reign of Tiberius. Macro was, at this time, in the zenith of his power. He had been assiduous in paying his court to Caligula; and now, when he saw the emperor declining fast, his zeal for the young prince became every day more conspicuous. In a short time after the death of Claudia (*b*), who had been married to Caligula, he made his own wife, Ennia, throw out the lure for his affections, till she obtained a promise of marriage. In this she found no difficulty. Caligula wished for nothing so much as an opportunity to seize the sovereign power; and, to second his ambition, there was no project which he was not ready to embrace. The ferocity of his nature left him little time for reflection, and the violence of his passions clouded his understanding: he had studied under his grandfather, and in that school acquired the arts of dissimulation.

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XLVI. THE character of Caligula did not escape the penetrating eye of Tiberius. Hence his irresolution on the important point of naming a successor (*a*). His grandsons naturally were present to his mind. The heir of his son Drusus was the nearest in blood, and natural affection spoke in his favour: but the prince was still of tender years. Caligula had attained the prime of manhood; but he was the son of Germanicus, and,

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for that reason, a favourite of the people ; both strong motives to excite the aversion of Tiberius. Claudius was not entirely overlooked. His time of life rendered him fit for that exalted station, and he had shewn a taste for the liberal arts ; but he wanted vigour of mind : nature had given him talents, but withheld the power of using them with any solid advantage. In this perplexity Tiberius weighed every circumstance, but still could form no resolution. To name a person who was not of the imperial family, were to degrade the memory of Augustus, and leave the house of Cæsar exposed to the contempt of posterity. This, in all events, he was determined to avoid, not with a view to present fame, for that had long since ceased to be his passion ; and yet he wished to preserve the glory of an illustrious line, and transmit it unimpaired to future ages.

At length, fatigued with thinking, and growing every day weaker, he left to chance what he had not vigour to decide. He had, notwithstanding, some foreknowledge of what was to happen after him. From certain expressions that fell from him this may be collected. His reproach to Macro, “ that he turned “ from the setting to the rising sun,” was neither dark nor equivocal. He said to Caligula, who, on some occasion, treated the character of Sylla with contempt and ridicule, “ You will have “ the vices of that great man, without one of his virtues.” In a short time after, while with tears of affection he clasped in his arms the youngest (*b*) of his grandsons, he observed the stern countenance of Caligula, and calmly told him, “ You will kill “ this boy, and fall yourself by some other hand.” Tiberius was now declining fast, and yet, in that decay of nature, he abated nothing from his usual gratifications. Dissembling to the last, he endured every encroachment on his constitution with calm composure. Patience, he thought, would pass for vigour.

To

To ridicule the practice of physic (*c*), and make a jest of all who, after thirty, did not understand their own constitutions, had been long the bent of his humour.

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XLVII. AT Rome, in the mean time, prosecutions were set on foot, to terminate in blood after the death of Tiberius. Acutia, formerly the wife of Publius Vitellius (*a*), was charged on the law of violated majesty by Lælius Balbus. She was condemned; but the decree, by which the senate adjudged a recompense to the prosecutor, was suspended by the interposition of Junius Otho, the tribune of the people. From that moment Vitellius and Otho became open enemies. Fierce contentions followed, and, at last, ended in the banishment of Otho. Albucilla, a woman famous for the variety of her intrigues, and her marriage with Satrius Secundus (*b*) (the man who informed against Sejanus), was charged with a conspiracy against the prince. Cneius Domitius, Vibius Marfus, and Lucius Arruntius, were all three involved in the same prosecution, being, as was alleged, connected in a course of adultery with Albucilla, and, by consequence, accomplices in all her crimes. The illustrious birth of Domitius has been already mentioned. Marfus derived great splendour from his ancestors, and was, besides, in an eminent degree adorned with literature. In the state of the proceedings laid before the senate, it appeared that Macro presided at the examination of the witnesses, and saw the slaves put to the question; but no letter on the subject arrived from Tiberius. Hence a strong suspicion, that Macro, taking advantage of the feeble state of his master, seized the opportunity to wreak his malice on Arruntius, whom he was known to prosecute with inveterate hatred.

XLVIII. DOMITIUS, relying on his defence, employed himself in the necessary preparation. Marfus gave out that he was resolved

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resolved to end his days by famine. The artifice saved both their lives. The friends of Arruntius tried all their influence and their best advice. They entreated him to protract the time by studied delays. Arruntius answered with firmness: "The same part cannot, with propriety, be acted by all characters. What is honourable in one, may be unworthy in another. As to myself, I have lived long enough, nay too long, and to my own disgrace. For that, and that only, I now reproach myself. I have lingered in life, amidst surrounding dangers; I have dragged a weary old age, exposed to the proud man's insult, and the malice of pernicious ministers; hated at first by Sejanus, and now by Macro; in every stage of life obnoxious to lawless power. My enemies had no crime to lay to my charge, unless it be a crime to detest evil men, and evil measures. Life is no longer worth my care: it may, indeed, be prolonged beyond the term that seems to remain for Tiberius: but from a youthful tyrant, ready to seize the commonwealth as his prey, what shield can guard me? In despotic power there is a charm that can poison the best understanding. Of this truth Tiberius is an example. And is it to be expected that Caligula, scarce yet arrived to the state of manhood, a novice in business, with a mind trained up in the most pernicious maxims, will, under such a guide as Macro, pursue better measures? Macro will direct his councils; that very Macro, who, for his pre-eminence in guilt, was selected to work the downfall of Sejanus. Since that time, what has been his character? He has been the scourge, the oppressor of the commonwealth. A period of calamity, more dreadful than what we have seen, is yet to come: from the memory of the past, and the pangs of future misery, I choose to make my escape." Having, in this prophetic strain, delivered his sentiments, he opened his veins, and

bled to death. That he acted with wisdom, as well as courage, the times that follow will give ample proof.

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Albucilla made an attempt on her own life; but the wound not proving mortal, she was, by order of the senate, hurried away to prison. The senate passed a decree against such as were connected with her in adulterous practices. By that sentence, Grafidius Sacerdos, of prætorian rank, was banished to an island, and Pontius Fregellanus was expelled the senate. The like judgment was pronounced against Lælius Balbus, the fathers concurring with pleasure in the condemnation of a man, whose pernicious talents and overbearing eloquence were ever ready to work the ruin of truth and virtue.

XLIX. ABOUT the same time, Sextus Papinius (*a*), a man descended from a family of consular rank, chose a mode of death both shocking and ignominious. He threw himself headlong from a precipice, and expired on the spot. The cause of this dreadful catastrophe was imputed to his mother. Having conceived an unnatural passion for her son, this woman, though often repulsed, still persisted to solicit his passions, and, at length, by alluring arts and the baits of luxury, reduced the young man to a situation, in which an act of despair was his only remedy. Being cited to appear before the senate, she threw herself at the feet of the fathers, and tried by every art to awaken compassion. The anguish of a parent, she said, pierced her to the quick, and the weakness of her sex was unequal to such a load of misery. She omitted nothing that could touch the heart, and mitigate resentment; but the fathers were inexorable. She was banished from Rome for ten years, that, in the mean time, her second son might pass the season of life, in which the young and tender mind is liable to seduction.

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L. TIBERIUS now drew near his end: his strength declined, his spirits sunk, and every thing failed, except his dissimulation. The same austerity still remained, the same energy and rigour of mind. He talked in a decisive tone; he looked with eagerness; and even, at times, affected an air of gaiety. Dissembling to the last, he hoped by false appearances to hide the decay of nature. Weary, restless, and impatient, he could not stay long in one place. After various changes, he stopt at a villa, formerly the property (*a*) of Lucullus, near the promontory of Misenum. It was here first known that his dissolution was approaching fast. The discovery was made in the following manner. A physician, of the name of Charicles, highly eminent in his profession, attended the train of Tiberius, not employed to prescribe, but occasionally assisting with friendly advice. Pretending to have avocations that required his attendance elsewhere, he approached the emperor to take his leave, and respectfully laying hold of his hand, contrived, in the act of saluting it, to feel his pulse. The artifice did not escape the notice of Tiberius. It probably gave him offence, but, for that reason, he smothered his resentment. With an air of cheerfulness, he ordered the banquet to be served, and, seemingly with intent to honour his departing friend, continued at table beyond his usual time. Charicles was not to be deceived. He saw a rapid decline, and assured Macro that two days, at most, would close the scene. For that event measures were immediately taken: councils were held in private, and dispatches were sent to the army, and the several commanders at their respective stations. On the seventeenth before the calends of April, Tiberius had a fainting fit: he lay for some time in a state of languor, speechless, without motion, and was thought to be dead. A band of courtiers surrounded Caligula, eager to pay their court, and all congratulating the prince on his accession to the imperial dignity. Caligula was actually going forth to be proclaimed emperor, when

word was brought; that Tiberius was come to himself, and called for a cordial to revive his fainting spirits. The whole party was struck with terror: the crowd dispersed; some with dejected looks, others with a cheerful mien, as if unconscious of what had happened. Caligula stood at gaze, astonished, and almost out of his senses. He had, but a moment before, one foot on the throne, and now was thrown from the summit of his ambition. He remained fixed in despair, as if awaiting the stroke of death. Macro alone was undismayed. With firmness and presence of mind, he cleared the emperor's room, and gave orders that the remains of life should be smothered under a load of clothes. Such was the end of Tiberius, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

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LI. HE was the son of Tiberius Nero; by the paternal and maternal line of the house of Claudius, though his mother passed by adoption into the Livian, and afterwards into the Julian family. The beginning of his days was clouded with misfortunes, and exposed to various perils. In his infancy, he was torn away from Rome, and forced to wander with his father, then on the list of the proscribed. When a marriage took place between Livia and Augustus, he was introduced into the imperial house, but had to contend with powerful rivals, as long as Marcellus, Agrippa, and the two Cæsars, Caius and Lucius, flourished at the court of Augustus. In the eyes of the people, his brother Drusus overshadowed him. By his marriage with Julia, his situation was rendered still more embarrassing. Whether he connived at her vices, or abandoned her in resentment, the dilemma was, either way, full of difficulty. Being recalled from the isle of Rhodes, he found Augustus deprived of heirs, and from that time continued for twelve years, without a rival, the hope and pillar of the imperial family. He succeeded to the empire, and governed Rome near three-and-twenty years. His manners, like

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his fortune, had their revolutions, and their distinctive periods; amiable (*a*), while a private man; and, in the highest employments under Augustus, esteemed and honoured. During the lives of Drusus and Germanicus, he played an artificial character, concealing his vices, and assuming the exteriors of virtue. After their decease, and while his mother lived, good and evil were equally blended in his conduct. Detested for his cruelty, he had the art, while he loved or feared Sejanus, to throw a veil over his most depraved and vicious appetites. All restraint being at length removed, he broke out without fear or shame, and, during the remainder of his life, hurried away by his own unbridled passions, made his reign one scene of lust, and cruelty, and horror.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

N O T E S
ON THE
S I X F I R S T B O O K S
O F
T H E A N N A L S.

N O T E S

ON THE

F I R S T B O O K

OF

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Section I.

(a) **I**N this introduction, Tacitus gives us a compendious view of the Roman government in all its various forms, and every deviation from its first principles, from the foundation of the city to the establishment of the Cæsars. The several forms were as follows :

1. The regal government, which lasted, under seven successive kings, above two hundred and forty years, and ended at last by the expulsion of Tarquin.

2. The consulship, and the republican government established by Brutus, A. U. C. 245 ; before the Christian æra 509.

3. The supreme authority of the dictator, created in pressing exigencies, and for a limited time. This office was first instituted, according to Livy, A. U. C. 253.

4. The decemvirs appointed to frame a body of laws. They were the only magistrates. The government, which was transferred from kings to consuls, was now vested in the decemvirs. Their code of laws was finished within two years. It was called the **TWELVE TABLES**. The well known tyranny of Appius brought upon them the name of the **TEN TARQUINS**. Their magistracy ended A. U. C. 305.

5. The military tribunes, in a violent contention between the patricians and commonalty, invested with the authority of the consuls, and exercising

exercising all the functions of those two magistrates, A. U. C. 310. In the following year the consular government was once more restored.

6. The usurpation of Cinna, A. U. C. 667.

7. The domination of Sylla, who assumed the power of dictator A. U. C. 672, and continued in that station till the year 675, when he made a voluntary abdication, and retired to lead the life of a private citizen.

8. The triumvirate of Pompey, Crassus, and Julius Cæsar, A. U. C. 699. This was a faction, not a legal institution.

9. Cæsar perpetual dictator, A. U. C. 706.

10. The triumvirate of Antony, Lepidus, and Augustus, A. U. C. 711.

11. The supreme power vested in Augustus, A. U. C. 724. Such were the various changes of government, which Tacitus has enumerated with his usual comprehensive brevity. Each of them forms an important æra, and all, well developed, would furnish a complete political history of Rome.

(b) The original says simply under the name of prince, meaning *prince of the senate*; a title well known in the time of the old republic, and always given to the senator whose name stood first on the censor's roll. When the consul called upon the fathers for their opinions, he began with the PRINCEPS SENATUS. Under that constitutional name, Augustus seemed rather to accept than to arrogate to himself the management of the state. Tacitus says afterwards, section ix. that the government was neither settled under a monarch nor a dictator, but under the title of prince. *Non regno, neque dictaturâ, sed principis nomine constitutam rempublicam.* Augustus understood the policy of not assuming invidious titles in the outset of his reign; but it was owing to him that, in process of time, the word *princeps* no longer signified *prince of the senate*, but, in the modern acceptation, the supreme ruler of the state.

Section II.

(a) Brutus and Cassius, after their defeat at the battle of Philippi, dispatched themselves, A. U. C. 712, having both resolved before the engagement, that, if they did not conquer, they would have nothing to fear from their enemies.—Plutarch, Life of Brutus. They were the two last Roman patriots, and public liberty died with them. Sextus Pompeius, the son of Pompey the Great, was defeated by Agrippa in a naval engagement on the coast of Sicily. He fled into Asia, and was there put to death A. U. C. 719. Florus, lib. iv. cap. 8. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 72, 73. Lepidus was at the head of twenty legions, but was dismantled of his power by the policy of Augustus. Marc Antony died a voluntary death.

(b) The office of tribune of the people originated in the following manner: The inferior citizens made a secession to the *Mons Sacer*, A. U. C. 259, and refused to return till they were allowed to choose magistrates of their own. The number at first was two; in the year of Rome 283, five were chosen; and in 297, ten. By their *intercession* in any business, they could stop the proceedings of the senate, and all the magistrates. In process of time, their authority was held to be sacred. No man could presume to interrupt them in their harangues, and they could command all to be silent. They could stop all legislation, and also the execution of the laws. A new form was thus introduced into the constitution, which threw the weight into the democratic scale; and this extraordinary power, Cicero says, saved the republic; because, in the hands of a turbulent multitude, it would have been nothing but uproar and confusion. The tribunes, however, could at their pleasure control the other magistrates, and that was the popular title which Augustus assumed. It gave him, under a republican name, the whole force and energy of the government. He knew the art of disguising tyranny under constitutional forms. *Arcanum novi statûs, imago antiqui*. Tacitus says in another place, that Augustus, under that artful disguise, found the way, without the name of *king* or *dictator*, to make himself superior to the legislative and the executive powers of the commonwealth. *Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus reperit,*

reperit, ne REGIS aut DICTATORIS nomen adsumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliquâ cætera imperia præemineret.—Annals, book iii. f. 56.

Section III.

(a) Octavia was the sister of Augustus. For more of her, see the Genealogical Table of the Cæsars, vol. ii. No. 16. For Marcellus, see *ibidem*, No. 18.

(b) For Julia, the daughter of Augustus, married first to Marcellus and afterwards to Agrippa, see the Genealogical Table, No. 46. For Agrippa, see No. 47.

(c) An account of Livia and her first husband is given in the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 66. For Drusus, see No. 79; and Tiberius, No. 68. The title of *imperator* implied no more than the commander of an army. It was usually given by the soldiers in their camp, or in the field after a victory, to the general whom they approved. Augustus, and the following emperors, granted the name to their favourites as an honourable distinction. Tiberius reserved it for the emperor only. See Annals, book iii. f. 74. Being always, with other titles, annexed to the imperial dignity, it served, at length, to convey the idea now understood by the word EMPEROR.

(d) Caius and Lucius were the sons of Agrippa by Julia, the daughter of Augustus. See Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 48 and 49. The Roman law made no difference between adoption and natural filiation; consequently the two sons of Agrippa, being adopted by Augustus, became part of the Cæsarean family.

(e) Agrippa Posthumus, so called because he was born after his father's death. See Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 50.

(f) For the island of Planasia, see Geographical Table at the end of this volume.

(g) Tiberius had a son, named Drusus, by his first wife Vipfania Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa. See the Genealogical Table of the Cæsars, vol. ii. No. 70. Drusus was afterwards cut off by Sejanus. See Annals, book iv. f. 8.

(h) The slaughter of Varus and his three legions was A. U. C.

762. See an account of it in Suetonius, in Aug. f. 23. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. f. 117; and also in this book, f. 58, 60, 61.

(i) The battle of Actium was A. U. C. 723. For Actium, see the Geographical Table.

Section IV.

(a) By the equal condition of Roman citizens we are not to understand *equality of ranks*, which never did and never can subsist in any age or country. The equal condition of the people consisted in their having a voice in the making of laws, in all questions about war and peace, and in all affairs of moment.

(b) The pride of the Claudian family, from which Tiberius was descended both by the paternal and the maternal line, is painted forth in lively colours by Suetonius, in Tib. f. 1 and 2.

(c) For an account of Tiberius in the isle of Rhodes, see Suet. in Tib. f. 10, 11, 12.

(d) Drusus (the son of Tiberius) and Germanicus, who, at that time, commanded the legions on the Rhine.

Section VI.

(a) He was grand-nephew to Sallust, the great historian. See Annals, book iii. f. 30. If he disclosed the secret, he was sure to incur the resentment of the emperor; if he concealed it, the senate might condemn him for the murder.

Section VII.

(a) There were two forms of oaths; one, when they swore by the name of the prince; the other, when they bound themselves to support his acts. The last was introduced by Romulus, and is called by Ulpian, *LEX REGIA*. It was the foundation of the monarchy. Julius Cæsar renewed it, to support his own ambition.—Suet. in Jul. Cæs. f. 84. It should seem, from what Tacitus says, that, on the present occasion, they swore by the name, not the acts of Tiberius. The latter oath was voted afterwards by the senate, but Tiberius opposed it. This book, f. 72.

(b) Turranius was the confidential friend of Augustus, and by him, towards the latter end of his reign, appointed præfect of corn and grain; an office which that emperor had generally kept in his own hands.

(c) In every Roman camp the general's tent, or pavilion, was called the PRÆTORIUM, because the ancient Latins styled all their commanders, PRÆTORS. Scipio Africanus formed a *prætorian cohort*, or a body of select men, who were stationed near his pavilion, holding themselves in readiness to attend their general in all sudden emergencies. In the time of Augustus, the emperor's tent was called PRÆTORIUM AUGUSTALE. The name was continued by his successors; and the soldiers, who formed the emperor's body guard, were called the *prætorian cohorts*, under the command of an officer, instituted with a special commission, in which he was styled PRÆFECTUS PRÆTORII. The soldiers were for some time quartered at Rome, till Sejanus, in order to forward his own dark designs, persuaded Tiberius to form a prætorian camp at a small distance from the city.—Annals, book iv. f. 2.

(d) Tiberius appeared with the same external pomp, and all the honours that distinguished Augustus; namely, the *fæsces* wreathed with laurels, a train of lictors, and whatever at that time was appropriated to the emperor. The purple, and the diadem, in imitation of eastern monarchy, were introduced at a later period.

Section VIII.

(a) Suetonius informs us, that Augustus made his will a year and four months before his death, and committed it to the care of the vestal virgins. Two-thirds of his money, which he had taken care to deposit in his exchequer, he gave to Tiberius, and the rest to Livia. In the event of their death, one-third was to go to Drusus, the son of Tiberius; and the other two-thirds to Germanicus and his three sons. If they did not survive him, he left the whole to his relations and friends.—Suet. in Aug. f. 101.

(b) Suetonius seems to have given a distinct account of these several legacies. Tacitus mentions a gross sum to the nation, and the populace; *populo et plebi*. What was given to the former was of course

carried

carried into the public treasury, *ærarium*; the rest was distributed to the inferior citizens. Suetonius separates the two legacies, and the translator has ventured to follow him. Suetonius says that forty millions of sesterces were bequeathed to the ROMAN PEOPLE; to each of the tribes, thirty-five thousand; to the prætorian guards, one thousand to each; to the city cohorts, five hundred; and to the soldiers of the legions, three hundred to each. He fixed stated times for the payment of the several legacies, declaring, that not above one hundred and fifty millions of sesterces would go to his heirs, though in the last twenty years of his life he had received in legacies no less than fourteen hundred millions, all which, besides his own paternal estate, he had expended on the public.—Suet. in Aug. f. 101.

With regard to the Roman coin, the translator thinks proper to acknowledge, that he does not pretend to accuracy, whenever the great and small sesterces occur in the original. He believes that the reader, in general, will not be anxious about the exact valuation. The curious in such matters are referred to a dissertation on the subject in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxviii. 4to edit. He will there find that *sestertius nummus* was a piece of money worth about four sols of French money; and *sestertium pondus* about 204 livres, 3 sols, and 4 d. Another peculiarity is explained in the dissertation just mentioned. Whenever the Latin adverbs, such as *decies*, *vicies*, *centies*, *sestertium*, occur in the original, *centena millia* must always be understood; so that *decies sestertium* is ten hundred thousand, or one million of small sesterces. It follows, that the numeral letters in the text, cccxxxv, imply, *quadringenties tricies quinquies centena millia sestertium*, that is, four hundred and thirty-five times one hundred thousand small sesterces. Monsieur Guerin, who has given a valuable translation of Tacitus, explains the legacy of the emperor agreeably to what has been stated. Augustus, he says, left to the Roman people, that is, to the state, one hundred thousand sesterces four hundred times told; and to each of the five-and-thirty tribes, one hundred thousand sesterces, to be distributed among the poorer citizens. This note has run into length; but it was thought necessary, that the curious in Roman coins may not expect more than is intended.

Section IX.

(a) Immediately after the battle of Modena, in which Hirtius and Panfa were defeated, Augustus, on the fourteenth before the calends of September, that is, on the 19th of August, A. U. C. 711, was consul for the first time. He was, afterwards, thirteen times consul. Valerius Corvinus was six times consul, and Marius seven times; both together making their number equal to Augustus. It must however be remembered, that he was not emperor of Rome till the defeat of Marc Antony, at the battle of Actium, A. U. C. 723. He died on the 19th of August, in the year of Rome 767.

(b) The distant rivers were, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.

Section X.

(a) Hirtius and Panfa were consuls A. U. C. 711. They gave battle to Marc Antony near Modena, and obliged him to abandon Italy. Hirtius fell in the engagement, and Panfa, in a short time after, died of his wounds. Suetonius (Life of Augustus, f. 1.) says, that Glyco, the surgeon, was suspected of infusing poison into the wound; but Cicero refutes the charge, and vindicates the character of his friend.—See Letters to Brutus, epist. vi.

(b) This was the first consulship of Augustus: he drew near the city walls, and demanded it in the name of the legions.—Suetonius, in Aug. f. 26. He had not then obtained the tribunitian power, and therefore was not master of the commonwealth. He was at that time in his twentieth year.

(c) Augustus collected together the veteran soldiers who had fought under Julius Cæsar, and received a commission from the senate to join Hirtius and Panfa against Marc Antony.—See Suet. Life of Augustus, f. 10; and Cicero's Philippics *passim*.

(d) For an account of the extreme rigour with which Augustus enforced the proscription of the triumvirate, see Suetonius, in Aug. f. 27.

(e) The alliance between Augustus and Marc Antony was often violated, and renewed by the interposition of friends. Horace's account of his journey to Brundisium is supposed by Dacier to have been

been written A. U. C. 713, when the poet met Mæcenas and Cocceius Nerva, the famous lawyer, who were then employed to settle the treaty of Brundisium, by which Antony (his wife Fulvia being then dead) agreed to marry Octavia, the sister of Augustus. The treaty of Tarentum was about three years afterwards.

(f) Marcus Lollius was defeated in Germany A. U. C. 738. The slaughter of Varus and his three legions was A. U. 762.—See Suet. in Aug. f. 23; and Florus, lib. iv. cap. 12.

(g) Varro Muræna and Marcus Egnatius suffered for a conspiracy. Julius Antonius was son to Antony the triumvir, by his wife Fulvia. He was engaged in an intrigue with Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and for that offence was put to death. Velleius Paterculus says he dispatched himself. Horace's ode, *Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari*, is addressed to him.

(b) The excessive luxury of Vedius Pollio is well known. Dio Cassius says that he fattened his lampreys and other fish with human blood. Of Quintus Tediæ nothing more is known.

(i) Suetonius says, Augustus, though he knew that temples were often raised in the provinces in honour of the proconsuls, allowed none to be erected to himself, unless they were at the same time dedicated to the Roman people. In the city he absolutely refused all honours of that kind. Suet. in Aug. f. 52.

Section XI.

(a) Tacitus says, in another place, that Tiberius valued himself more for his art of dissimulation, than for all his other talents. He placed it in the rank of virtues, and hated the man who attempted to discover the secrets of his heart. *Nullam æquè Tiberius, ut rebatur, ex virtutibus suis, quam dissimulationem diligebat. Eò ægrius accepit, recludi quæ premeret.* Annals, book iv. f. 71.

(b) The pacific system, recommended by Augustus, was adopted by his two immediate successors. Tiberius and Caligula were contented with their triumph over the laws, and the lives and fortunes of the most eminent citizens. The pursuit of pleasure, and the exercise of domestic tyranny, banished all ideas of military glory; and their dread

of superior merit made them withhold from their generals the renown in arms which they themselves despised. Under the auspices of the emperor Claudius, Britain was invaded, and finally reduced by Agricola in the reign of Domitian. That was the only addition to the Roman empire during the first century of the Christian æra. Trajan, afterwards, departed from the moderation of Augustus. He reduced the whole vast territory of Dacia, which lay beyond the Danube, to the form of a Roman province, and extended his conquests into Armenia, Mesopotamia, and other countries as far as the gulf of Persia. His death closed the career of victory. His successor, Hadrian, renounced all the eastern conquests, choosing to make the precept of Augustus the rule of his conduct.

Section XII.

(a) Asinius Gallus was son to Asinius Pollio, the famous orator, and confidential friend of Augustus. Horace and Virgil have made the father immortal. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. 12, note (e).

(b) Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, was married to Tiberius, who was divorced from her at the desire of Augustus, that he might be at liberty to marry the emperor's daughter Julia, at that time the widow of Agrippa. Vipsania, when repudiated, was far advanced in her pregnancy. She was delivered of Drusus, the son of Tiberius, in the house of her second husband. Tiberius always thought of her with real affection, and educated her son Drusus as his own. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 69.

Section XIII.

(a) Lucius Arruntius was consul A. U. C. 722. Pliny the elder makes honourable mention of his talents, and ranks him with the eminent authors of the age.

(b) The character of Marcus Lepidus is drawn by Tacitus, Annals, book iv. f. 20. He is there celebrated for his political wisdom, and the virtues of moderation. See also Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. f. 114.

For

For Cneius Piso, who was afterwards the mortal enemy of Germanicus, see Annals, book ii. f. 43.

(c) The question put by Haterius seems to imply a compliment. Tiberius, perhaps, thought it came from a man who saw through his affected delays. Mamercus Scaurus is mentioned, Annals, book iii. f. 31, as one of the most eloquent orators of his time, and afterwards, f. 66, as a man whose dissolute manners made him a disgrace to an illustrious line of ancestors. His vices are described by Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, lib. iv. cap. 31. Being accused of writing verses against Tiberius, he prevented a sentence of condemnation by a voluntary death. Annals, book vi. f. 29. What he says in the senate is a pointed remark, and no wonder that it provoked resentment. Tiberius, by virtue of his tribunitian power, might have put an end to the impertinence of the senate. Since he did not use his authority, it was evident that he was acting a part, and Scaurus, by his observation, pulled off the mask. Suetonius says, the senate grew impatient: according to him, a member cried out, "Let him accept the sovereignty, or renounce it at once." Another said, "Some men are quick to promise, and slow to perform: Tiberius is the reverse; he acts already, and yet will not promise." Tiberius saw that the farce lasted too long. He therefore said, "I accept the imperial dignity, till you yourselves shall think fit to relieve old age from such a weight of care." Suetonius, in Tib. f. 24.

Section XIV.

(a) Livia took the name of *Julia*, in consequence of her adoption into the *Julian* family. Tiberius, notwithstanding, thought the appointment of a lictor too great an honour. Claudius was afterwards more indulgent to his wife Agrippina. Two lictors were ordered to attend her.

(b) When the Romans wished to perpetuate the memory of a singular event, they raised an altar, and engraved the particulars of the transaction. Augustus, after living above seven-and-thirty years with Livia as his acknowledged wife, chose, in the end, to make her his daughter

daughter by adoption. The fathers meant to pay court to Livia, but Tiberius did not approve of so much adulation.

(c) The proconsular authority was often granted to generals at the head of distant armies, but never exercised within the city.

(d) Drusus, as already mentioned, was the son of Tiberius. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 70.

(e) He broke his promise afterwards, and, according to Dio Cassius, appointed no less than fifteen or sixteen candidates.

Section XV.

(a) Tiberius had all the arts of a subtle and disguised politician. He knew that by depriving the people of the last remnant of liberty, their right to a voice in the election of magistrates, and vesting it in the senate, he should establish his own absolute power. The senate, at all times adverse to the claims of the people, saw with pleasure the annihilation of a restless, factious, and turbulent democracy; never once reflecting that their order, unsupported by the people, could make but a feeble resistance to the will of a despotic prince. The people, on their part, complained of the alteration; but they complained without principle, or a sense of public interest, merely because they lost the opportunity of selling their votes. Juvenal describes the people, who in the days of the republic granted the consulship and the command of armies, reduced to think of two things only; their bread, and the games of the circus.

————— Nam qui dabat olim
Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
PANEM ET CIRCENSES. SAT. x. ver. 78.

(b) The triumphal robe was a rich purple, intermixed with gold. Pliny says it was in use in Homer's time, and for that reason adopted by the Roman generals.

(c) There were eight prætors, but two only had jurisdiction; one in all causes between citizen and citizen; the other, between citizens and strangers. See the Life of Agricola, f. 6, note (d).

Section

Section XVI.

(a) A suspension of all business whatever, occasioned by some melancholy event, was called *justitium*. See a description of it in Lucan, lib. ii. v. 19.

(b) Theatrical factions were often the cause of great public mischief. See Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. xxix. note (c).

Section XVII.

(a) In the time of the republic, the cavalry served ten years, and the infantry twenty. The civil wars prolonged the service.

(b) The foldiers, who had served their full time, were not discharged, but still continued to enter into action when occasion required. They encamped apart from the legions, under a banner called *vexillum*, and thence the name of *vexillarii*. They were also called *veterans*.

(c) The daily pay of a Roman foldier, Brotier fays, was equal to ten *sous* of French money.

(d) The Roman *denarius* is said to be equal to sixteen *sous* of French money.

Section XX.

(a) The companies of foot were called *manipuli*. They confifted, in the time of Romulus, of 100 men, and thence the principal officer was called *centurio*. They increased afterwards to 200, but the name of centurion still remained. A common foldier was called *manipularis*.

Section XXII.

(a) The Roman generals had in their camp a band of gladiators, in order to accustom their foldiers to wounds, and the effusion of blood.

Section XXIV.

(a) For the character of Ælius Sejanus, fee Annals, book iv. f. 1.

Section XXVII.

(a) Tacitus has recorded the praise of Lentulus, Annals, book iv. f. 44.

Section XXVIII.

(a) This eclipse, according to the calculation of eminent mathematicians, happened on the 27th of September, A. U. C. 767, of the Christian æra 14. Augustus died on the 19th of the preceding month of August.

Section XXIX.

(a) Every legion was divided into thirty companies, 200 men in each; and again, the companies were distinguished into *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*. Every company had two centurions; the first in command was called PRIMIPILUS, or PRIMIPILARIS.

Section XXXI.

(a) The whole tract of Gaul, on the borders of the Rhine, was reduced to subjection, and divided by Augustus into Upper and Lower Germany. Whenever they are mentioned, it will be proper to bear in mind, that both lay on this side of the Rhine, and were no part of Germany, properly so called. For a further account of this matter, see the Manners of the Germans, f. 1, note (a).

(b) In collecting the tributes in the several provinces, the Romans made an accurate survey of the people, and an estimate of their riches: this was called *censum agere*.

(c) The Roman generals, and the emperors after them, took an honorary title from the conquered country. Scipio was styled AFRICANUS; Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, was called GERMANICUS, and his son was known by no other name. The emperor Claudius assumed the addition of GERMANICUS.

Section XXXII.

(a) It has been observed, section xxix. note (a), that there were in every legion thirty companies, with two centurions to each.

(b) Chærea was the chief of the conspirators against Caligula. He desired that he might have the glory of striking the first blow. Suet. in Calig. f. 56.

Section XXXIII.

- (a) For Agrippina, see the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 51.
 (b) Drusus died A. U. C. 745. See Genealogical Table, No. 79.

Section XXXIV.

(a) The original says, *Belgicæ civitates*. By the word *civitas*, the Roman authors do not always mean a city, in the modern sense of the word; but a body politic, a state, a people.

(b) Tiberius conquered in Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Illyricum. He commanded in Germany, and obtained several victories. Suet. in Tib. f. xviii and xx. Velleius Paterc. lib. ii. f. 104.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) The territory of the Chaucians lay between the rivers Amisia (the *Ems*) and Albis (the *Elbe*). Hence it appears, that after the slaughter of Varus the Romans were still in possession of some strong holds in Germany. The garrison quartered in Germany began to mutiny, but the præfect of the camp ordered two of the ringleaders to be executed. This was against law. The præfect of the camp had no authority to punish with death. That power was vested in the commander in chief. Lesser punishments were inflicted by the tribunes and centurions.

(b) He turned towards the river, i. e. the Rhine, and led the mutineers to their winter quarters.

Section XXXIX.

(a) The Ubian altar, now *Bonn*. See the Geographical Table.

(b) The original says, *vexillum*. This, on the authority of Lipsius, is called in the translation the *purple standard*, which was always at the head-quarters, till produced as the signal for engaging the enemy. Some of the commentators contend that it was the banner, under which the veterans were retained in the service.

(c) The ensigns and the eagles were the Gods of a Roman army. Tacitus calls them *propria legionum numina*. Tertullian says, *Religio Romanorum tota castrensis; signa veneratur, signa jurat, et omnibus diis præponit*.

Section XL.

(a) This was Caligula, afterwards emperor. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 86.

Section XLI.

(a) Caligula was born in Germany :

In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam designati principis omen erat.

Suetonius seems to think that he was born at Antium, in Italy. Suet. in Calig. f. 8.

Section XLII.

(a) Not his real father Drusus, who was long since dead. He means Tiberius, who had adopted him by order of Augustus, as already mentioned, f. 3. See the fine passage in Cicero. *Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares : sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est ; pro quâ quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere.* De Officiis, lib. i. f. 17.

(b) Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius.

(c) The soldiers of the tenth legion, being quartered at Rome; demanded of Julius Cæsar the arrears of their pay, and a discharge from the service. He yielded to their clamour, and disbanded the whole corps. He then addressed them in a soothing speech, and, as they were no longer soldiers, called them QUIRITES. By that single word the men were softened, and once more lifted in the service. Suet. in Cæs. f. 70. After the battle of Actium, Augustus quelled a mutiny at Brundisium. Suet. in Aug. f. 17.

Section XLIII.

(a) The image of Drusus was displayed among the eagles and standards.

Section XLIV.

(a) The rewards of the soldiers' valour were a chain, a bracelet, a
spear,

ſpear, a branch of oak. *Servati civis referentem præmia quercum.* See in book ii. f. 9, the military honours obtained by Flavius, the brother of Arminius.

Section XLV.

(a) *Vetera* is the ſame as *vetera caſtra*, the old camp; a place rendered famous by the ſiege conducted by Civilis, the Batavian chief. Hiſt. book iv. f. 22. It is now called *Santen*, in the duchy of Cleves.

Section XLVI.

(a) Suetonius ſays there was not a province, except Africa and Sardinia, which he did not viſit. In Aug. f. 47.

Section XLVII.

(a) Tiberius, in the two firſt years after his acceſſion, never once ſtirred out of Rome; nor did he afterwards venture further than Antium, or the iſle of Caprea. He pretended an intention to viſit the provinces, and made preparations every year, without ſo much as beginning a journey. He was at laſt called CALLIPÉDES, a man famous in Greece for being in a hurry, and never advancing an inch. Suet. in Tib. f. 38.

Section XLVIII.

(a) The tents are called, in the original, *Contubernia*. They were large enough for ten ſoldiers, who were lodged together.

Section XLIX.

(a) He threw a bridge over the Rhine.

Section L.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) The rampart was raiſed by Tiberius, when he commanded in Germany, in the reign of Auguſtus. Cluverius ſays, it was near the city, now called *Schermbeck*. See Germ. Antiqua, lib. iii. cap. 9.

(c) This

(c) This road, Brotier says, stretched from west to east, along the banks of the river LUPPIA (the *Lippe*) as far as ALISO, now *Elsen*.

(d) The Marfians dwelt in the *diocese of Munster*, between the rivers Amisia and Luppia.

Section LI.

(a) Woods and forests were the sanctuaries held in veneration by the Germans. The temple of *Tanfan* was an exception to the general custom. We are told by antiquarians, that the word was composed of *Tan*, *sylva*, a wood, and *fane*, *dominus*, or lord. Amelot de la Houffaye says it was dedicated to the *first cause of all*, or the supreme being. See Manners of the Germans, f. ix. note (d).

Section LIII.

(a) She was married to Agrippa, and had by him three sons, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa Posthumus; and also two daughters, Agrippina and Julia. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 46.

(b) For more of him and his son Caius Gracchus, see Annals, book iv. f. 13.

Section LIV.

(a) For an account of theatrical factions, see Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. xxix. note (c). Bathyllus, the pantomime performer, is distinguished by Horace for his graceful movement.

————— Nec cum sis cætera fossor,
Tres tantum ad numeros satyri moveare Bathylli.

He is also mentioned by Juvenal:

Chironemon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo.

SAT. vi. ver. 63.

Section LV.

(a) Arminius, according to Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. f. 118, was the son of Sigimer, a Cheruscan chief. Inguiomer was his father's brother, and of course uncle to Arminius, as mentioned in this book,

f. 60.

f. 60. Arminius had a brother, whose name was Flavius. Annals, book ii. f. 9. Segestes was another leading chieftain among the Cheruscans. His daughter was ravished from him by Arminius. His son Segimund is mentioned in this book, f. 57. This account of the German chieftains will make the sequel, in this and the next book, more easily understood.

Section LVI.

(a) Mount Taunus, near Magontiacum (now *Mayence*), Brotier says is now called *Heyrich*.

Section LVII.

(a) Her name, according to Strabo, was Thusnelda. Her deportment here described would be a fine subject for an historical painter.

Section LVIII.

(a) The account here promised, and without doubt given either in the Annals or the History, is totally lost. Strabo says that the son, who was called Thumelicus by the Romans, walked among the captives in the triumph of Germanicus, which is mentioned, Annals, book ii. f. 41.

Section LX.

(a) The Lakes, which are now lost in the vast gulf, called the Zuider-Zée.

(b) The commentators give different accounts of the Teutoburgian forest. Guerin, the French translator of Tacitus, says it lay in the diocese of Munster, where there is at this day a place called *Varendorp*, which signifies the burgh of Varus. Brotier places it in the diocese of Paderborn, near the town of *Horn*, not far from *Paderborn*, where there is a forest called *Teuteberg*; and a field called *Winfeldt*: that is, the field of victory. To confirm his opinion, he says that bones and military weapons, and also medals of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, are often dug up in those woods.

Section

Section LXI.

(a) The part of a Roman camp, where the arms and eagles were deposited, was called *principia*. As the traces of three such places were visible, there could be no doubt but they were the work of three legions.

Section LXIII.

(a) The causeway, called the long bridge, was constructed by Lucius Domitius, the grandfather of the emperor Nero. According to Suetonius, he was, in the early part of life, as famous for his skill in driving a curricule as his grandson, when emperor of Rome. In the time of Augustus, he commanded the legions in Germany, and penetrated farther into that country than any Roman had done before him. Annals, book iv. f. 44.

Section LXVI.

(a) There were four gates to a Roman camp. Livy says so in express terms. *Ad quatuor portas exercitum instruxit, ut, signo dato, ex omnibus portibus eruptionem facerent.* The several gates were, the *prætorian*; the gate opposite to it, at the extremity of the camp, called the *decuman*; and two others, called the *right and left principals*, because they stood on the right and left sides of the camp, fronting the street called *Principia*. See Duncan's Roman Art of War.

Section LXIX.

(a) Pliny, the elegant author of the Natural History.

Section LXX.

(a) He was uncle to Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

(b) The first edition of Tacitus has the river *Visurgis* (the *Weser*). This is manifestly an error. The march of the troops was westward, towards the Rhine; and the *Visurgis* flowed at a great distance towards the east. Lipsius saw the mistake, but did not cure it. Brotier has clearly proved that *Unsingis*, now the river *Hunse*, or *Hunsing*, near Groningen, is the true reading.

Section

Section LXXII.

(a) The triumphal *insignia* were, a golden crown, an ivory chair (*fella curulis*), an ivory sceptre (called *scipio*), and a painted robe. Livy, lib. xxx. f. 15.

(b) By a law of the Twelve Tables, defamatory libels were strictly prohibited. We read in Aulus Gellius, lib. iii. cap. 3, that Nævius, the comic poet, was thrown into prison for certain defamatory verses in one of his plays. Horace says, the poets were by the Twelve Tables restrained within due bounds.

————— Quin etiam lex,
Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam
Describi. Vertère modum formidine FUSTIS,
Ad benè dicendum delectandumque redacti.

EPIST. AD AUG.

Augustus, not satisfied with the penalties of the old law, revived the charge of violated majesty, which had been invented by Sylla. Tiberius felt the lash of satire, as may be seen in the lampoon preserved by Suetonius (in Tib. f. 59). He was, therefore, willing to enforce the rule laid down by Augustus.

Section LXXIII.

(a) To preserve the majesty of the Roman people was the scope and spirit of the *Lex Majestatis*. Under the emperors the majesty of the people was annihilated. Whoever was obnoxious to the prince or his favourites, was brought within the law of majesty. Every thing was a state-crime. Tiberius, we see, had the art to proceed, in the beginning, with some appearance of moderation; but the mask soon fell off, and the trade of a public accuser became the scourge of society. It went on with rapid success in the reign of Caligula, of Claudius, and Nero. It was suppressed under Titus (see Suetonius, in Tit. f. 8), and again blazed out under Domitian. Suet. f. 10 and 11.

Section LXXIV.

(a) The advocates subscribed their names to the accusation drawn

up in form. Cicero, in the Oration concerning the Prosecution of Verres, called *DIVINATIO*, describes an accuser supported by a number of advocates, whom he calls subscribers: *Venit paratus cum subscriptoribus exercitatis et disertis*. Hispo, it seems, was the first of that vile crew, who lived and flourished by the destruction of their fellow citizens. A specimen of his eloquence may be seen in the *CONTROVERSIÆ* of Seneca.

(*b*) Suetonius says, a person, whom he does not name, was condemned by the senate for taking the head from a statue of Augustus, and placing another in its room. Life of Tiberius, f. 58. As Granius Marcellus was acquitted, what Suetonius says most probably relates to some other person.

(*c*) The emperor frequently gave his opinion and his vote in the senate. Tiberius, in the sequel, will be frequently found taking a part in the debates. From the question put to him, it should seem that he might give his voice first or last, as he should think proper; but the secret of securing a majority by private influence was, probably, soon discovered. To decide under the sanction of an oath was a custom known to the senate during the republic. See a dissertation, entitled, *THE ROMAN EMPEROR IN THE SENATE*, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxvii. 4to edit.

(*d*) For the recovery of money obtained by peculation, or other improper means, there was an established jurisdiction; and in case of condemnation, commissioners called *Recipratores* were appointed to see restitution made.

Section LXXV.

(*a*) If the truth was better investigated in the presence of Tiberius, the freedom of debate was abridged, and liberty was destroyed. Tiberius used to say, before judgment was pronounced, "If I was to decide, it should be so." And yet Velleius Paterculus, with his usual adulation, admires the gravity with which Tiberius attended the trial of causes, not as judge, senator, or prince, but as a private citizen. See Velleius, lib. ii. f. 129.

Section LXXVI.

(a) The reason of this refusal seems to be explained by Suetonius. Tiberius, he says, was loose and careless in matters of religion, being early addicted to judicial astrology, and fully persuaded that all things were governed by fate. *Circa deos ac religiones negligentior, quippe additus mathematicæ, persuasionisque plenus, cuncta fato regi.* In Tib. f. 69.

(b) Augustus divided the Roman provinces between himself and the senate. Those which he retained in his own hands, were administered by governors of his own choice, called *imperial procurators*. The Senatorian provinces were governed by proconsuls, appointed for a year only. See Life of Agricola, f. iv. note (b).

Section LXXVII.

(a) Augustus was fond of the Circensian games, and with great liberality rewarded the best performers. He took from the magistrates the power of correcting the stage players, which by an ancient law was left to their discretion. See Suetonius, in Aug. f. 45.

(b) The money laid out on plays and players was called *LUCAR*, because it arose from the annual produce of certain woods and groves (*Luci*) in the neighbourhood of Rome. Plutarch, Roman Questions.

Section LXXVIII.

(a) Augustus fixed the rate of the soldiers pay throughout all the armies of the empire; and, that a fund might be always ready for that purpose, he established a military exchequer, and certain taxes, which were to be paid into that office. See Suetonius, Life of Augustus, f. 49. Tiberius afterwards changed this tax to the two hundredth penny. Annals, book ii. f. 42.

N O T E S

ON THE

S E C O N D B O O K

OF

T H E A N N A L S.

Section I.

(a) **T**HE Parthian kings were called ARSACIDÆ, from ARSACES, the founder of the monarchy, A. U. C. 498; before the Christian æra 256. The curious may see, in Brotier's edition of Tacitus, a Genealogical Table of all the descendants of Arsaces, in regular succession, down to Artabanus III. the last Parthian monarch, who was conquered by the Persians, and put to death A. U. C. 986; of the Christian æra 233. Orodes was the king in whose reign Crassus and eleven legions were massacred, A. U. C. 701. Justin, lib. xlii. section 4. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 2.

(b) Phraates IV. was the son of Orodes. He defeated Marc Antony and sixteen legions under his command, A. U. C. 718. Justin, lib. xlii. f. 5. Plutarch, Life of Antony.

Section II.

(a) The original says, *Cæsar thought it magnificent*; but, for the sake of perspicuity, Augustus is mentioned in the translation. The Parthian ambassadors arrived at Rome A. U. C. 758. See Suetonius, in Tib. f. 16.

(b) The Romans were obliged to be always on their guard against the fraud and pilfering genius of their slaves. They locked up their
valuable

valuable utensils with care, and affixed their seals to their bottles, to secure their wine from depredation. Cicero says, his mother was used to seal even the empty bottles, that the slaves, to favour their fraud, might not pretend that their master had left a greater number of empty bottles. *Sicut olim matrem nostram facere memini, quæ lagenas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquæ fuisse, quæ furtim essent exsiccatae.* Cicero ad Familiares, lib. xvi. epist. 26. Horace praises the master who could, with temper, see the seal of his bottle broken by his slaves :

Et signo læso non infanire lagenæ.

Lib. ii. epist. ii. ver. 134.

Perfius represents a miser, anxious about his vapid wine, and smelling at the seal :

Et signum in vapidâ naso tetigisse lagenâ.

SAT. vi. ver. 17.

The new married man gave a seal to his bride, to shew that he committed the house affairs to her management.

Section III.

(a) Vonones, the son of Phraates, was invited by the Parthians to the throne of his ancestors, A. U. C. 752. He was afterwards obliged to fly to Armenia. The kings of that country may be seen in a regular line of succession; Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. p. 365, 4to edit. Artaxias was the first monarch, A. U. C. 565. Artaxias II. the prince mentioned in the text, mounted the throne A. U. C. 734; his reign was short. In that very year Tigranes, under the conduct of Tiberius, was placed by order of Augustus on the throne of Armenia. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. f. 94.

(b) Intermarriages between brothers and sisters were allowed by the custom of Ægypt, and the eastern nations. Cleopatra married her brother Ptolemy; and accordingly Cæsar, having ended the Alexandrian war, appointed brother and sister kings of the country. *Reges constituit.* De Bell. Alexand. f. xxxiii. Livy, in like manner, calls Ptolemy and Cleopatra kings of Ægypt. Freinshemius says, that the wife of Darius, who was taken prisoner by Alexander, was also sister to her husband.

(c) Artavafdes

(c) Artavasdes was raised by Augustus to the throne of Armenia A. U. C. 748 ; and deposed by the people in the year of Rome 752.

Section IV.

(a) Ariobarzanes was made king of Armenia A. U. C. 755, when Caius, the son of Agrippa, adopted by Augustus into the family of the Cæsars, commanded the army in the east.

(b) Vonones, son of Phraates IV. succeeded queen Erato, who reigned a short time. He was himself expelled, as here related by Tacitus. Zeno succeeded, and was placed on the throne by Germanicus, A. U. C. 771. This book, f. lvi.

Section VI.

(a) The isle of Batavia is rendered for ever famous by the enterprising spirit of Civilis, the warlike chief, whose brave exploits against the Romans are related in the fourth book of the History. For a further description of Batavia, see the Manners of the Germans, f. xxix. note (a).

Section VII.

(a) The equestrian games, in honour of the dead, are described by Virgil :

Ter circum accensos, cincti fulgentibus armis
Decurrere rogos ; ter mœstum funeris ignem
Lustravere in equis, ululatusque ore dedere.

ÆNEID. lib. xi. ver. 188.

Statius, in his Thebaid, has given a description more at length. See book vi. ver. 313. Drusus, after many signal victories in Germany, died there in the summer camp, which was, for that reason, called the *wicked camp*. His remains were buried at Rome, in the field of Mars. The soldiers raised a monument to his memory, and went annually round the place in a funeral procession, Suet. in Claudio, f. i.

Section VIII.

(a) The canal of Drusus, Brotier says, was between *Iselsort* and *Doesbourg*, from the Rhine to the river *Sala*, now the *Issel*.

(b) This

(b) This canal, according to Grotius, formed a third branch of the Rhine. It discharged itself into the Iffel, and through that channel into the lakes, on the borders of which the Frisians inhabited, where it took the name of Flevus, and emptied itself into the sea. The lakes are now lost in the *Zuiderzee*. See Manners of the Germans, f. xxix. note (a).

(c) The station on the eastern bank of the river is now called *Wester-Emden*. Germanicus was going to invade the Chaucians, who dwelt on the western side of the river, and he landed his men on the opposite bank.

Section IX.

(a) These military honours have been mentioned before. See book i. f. 72.

Section XI.

(a) The word in the original is *primipilaris*. Gordon calls him lieutenant-colonel. It means one of the principal centurions.

Section XII.

(a) For the Hercules of the Germans, see the Manners of the Germans, f. ii. note (l).

Section XIII.

(a) It has been observed, book i. f. vii. note (c), that the general's tent was called the *prætorium*. It was a large square, with a flag in the middle, about an hundred feet distant from each of the sides. Near the tent were erected the tribunal for dispensing justice, and a kind of temple in which sacrifices were offered. Near the temple there was a private gate into the camp called the *augural gate*.

(b) The Romans divided the night into four watches. Each watch was on duty three hours, and then relieved by the next in turn. The third watch began about the modern twelve at night.

Section XVI.

(a) La Bletterie says, he was told by military men, that the *Idistavisan plain* is the place now called *Hastenbeck*, near *Hamelon*, on the other side

of the *Weſer* (VISURGIS), where Marſhal *D'Eſtrées* obtained a victory in the year 1757. He adds that *D'Anville*, the celebrated geographer, affirmed him that there could be no doubt of the fact.

(*b*) The foreſt ſacred to Hercules. See this book, f. xii.

(*c*) Brotier is of opinion that theſe were the hills of *Luerberg* and *Neffelberg*.

Section XVIII.

(*a*) It appears, in ſection xxiii. of this book, that the battle was fought in July, or the beginning of Auguſt, *adultâ jam æſtate*. If ſo, the *fifth hour* nearly agrees with our nine in the morning.

(*b*) In the time of the republic, the title of *imperator* was given by the foldiers in the field of battle to the commander in chief. The cuſtom ceaſed under Auguſtus, who annexed the title to the imperial dignity, the prince being then *generaliffimo* of all the armies of the empire. The name of *imperator*, it is true, was afterwards given to the general who gained a victory; but that was not done without the ſpecial permission of the prince. The ſame rule was obſerved under the following emperors; and, accordingly, we find that Tiberius was ſaluted *imperator*; but the foldiers did not preſume to do that honour to Germanicus.

Section XIX.

(*a*) The field of battle choſen by the Germans is ſuppoſed to be near *Minden*, on the right hand ſide of the *Weſer*, and the wood is now the foreſt of *Schaumburger*.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) This was about the time of the autumnal equinox.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) The German and the Britiſh coaſts.

(*b*) The mouth of the Viſurgis, or the *Weſer*.

Section XXV.

(*a*) The more the Romans valued their eagles, the Germans in proportion were eager to keep the military gods of the legions in ſafe cuſtody.

custody. The legions under Varus had three eagles. One, according to Florus, book iv. cap. 12, was thrown into a deep morass, by a Roman soldier, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Stertinius recovered a second, as Tacitus relates, book i. f. 60. The third, we find, was buried in a wood, now called the forest of *Teuteberg*.

Section XXVI.

(a) The *Sicambri* dwelt between the river *Luppia* (now the *Lippe*) and the *Cattians*, who inhabited the territory of *Hesse*. Being conquered by Tiberius, in the reign of Augustus, they were transplanted to the Gallic side of the Rhine. We find them mentioned by Horace:

Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri
Compositis venerantur armis.

Lib. iv. ode 14.

(b) Maroboduus, at the head of the Marcomanians, and part of the Suevian nation, who dwelt between the Elbe (*Albis*) and the *Vistula*, drove the Boians out of the district called, after their name, *Boiabemum*, and made himself king of the conquered country. See Manners of the Germans, section xlii. note (c), and this book, section xlv. note (b).

Section XXVII.

(a) For Scribonia, see Genealogical Table, No. 45.

(b) Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, adopted by Augustus into the Cæfarean family. Genealogical Table, No. 48 and 49.

(c) It was by luxury, and the extravagance that occasioned an immense load of debt, that Julius Cæsar advanced himself to the supreme power.

Section XXVIII.

(a) Vesicularius was the tool of power, and flourished by his trade, till Tiberius ordered him to be put to death. Annals, vi. f. 10.

Section XXIX.

(a) The accused always appeared in a mourning habit, in order to excite compassion.

(b) The charge against him, we are told in the next section, was too extravagant. It seems, however, that Tiberius lived in dread of him. Suetonius says, Libo was actually engaged in a conspiracy; and that Tiberius, harbouring dark suspicion, contrived at a sacrifice, when Libo attended, to put into his hand a knife made of lead, instead of the usual instrument. Suet. in Tib. f. 25.

Section XXX.

(a) Dio Cassius says, that Augustus was the author of this subtle device; but, as he does not tell upon what occasion, it is reasonable to suppose that Tacitus was better informed. We learn from Cicero, that the old law, which repelled the slave from being a witness against his master, made the case of incest an exception to the general rule. *De servis nulla questio est in dominum nisi de incestu, ut fuit in Clodium.* Cicero, pro Milone. By the Roman law, a freeman could not be put to the torture. For that reason, the party accused, in order to suppress the truth, took care, in time, to give the slaves their freedom. To prevent that evasion of public justice in the case of adultery, Augustus provided by the *Lex Julia*, that the slaves of the wife accused of adultery should not be manumitted before the expiration of sixty days, during which time they were liable to be put to the torture.

Section XXXI.

(a) Seneca says, Libo was a young man, no less distinguished by his folly than by his illustrious birth; mad enough to form schemes of ambition too high for any man in that conjuncture, and for himself impracticable at any time. Being conveyed from the senate in a litter to his own house, he consulted his friends, whether he should dispatch himself. His aunt Scribonia (formerly the wife of Augustus) asked him, Why will you do another man's business? Her question made no impression. He put an end to his days. Seneca, epist. lxx.

Section XXXII.

(a) For more of Cotta Messalinus, see Annals, book iv. f. 20. He was son to Messala the celebrated orator.

(b) The

(b) The Chaldæan magicians, and the professors of judicial astrology, willing to be deemed men of real science, called themselves mathematicians; and that name frequently occurs in Tacitus. The decree made on this occasion was not a new regulation, but a revival of ancient laws.

(c) The ancient usage, *more majorum*, is explained by Suetonius. The custom he says, was to strip the criminal stark naked, and lash him to death, with his head fastened within a forked stake. Suet. in Nerone, f. 49.

Section XXXIII.

(a) The original has *vestis serica*, which is translated, *silk* apparel. Lipsius makes a distinction between the *serica* and *bombycina*. The former, he contends, was a texture of cotton that grew spontaneously on the trees in the country of the *Seres*; a people, according to Pomponius Mela, situated between India and the *Sinæ*, or the *Chinese*. The *bombycina vestis*, he says, was the produce of China, imported from the Persian merchants, before the Romans heard of so curious an animal as the silkworm. But can it be supposed that a mere cotton manufacture could provoke the censure of the senate? *Ne vestis serica viros fœdaret*. It is more probable, that the silk of China was conveyed to Rome through the hands of the *Seres*, the Indians, and Persians, and then was found to be a dress too effeminate for the men. This opinion seems to be confirmed by Seneca, who mentions the *serica vestis*. If, says he, that can be called a dress which does not answer the purposes of modesty: a woman clad in that attire cannot safely swear that she is not naked. The finery is imported, at a vast expence, from nations unknown; and now the women do not exhibit more to their adulterers, in their private apartments, than they do to every eye in public. *Video sericas vestes, si vestes vocandæ sunt, in quibus nihil est quo defendi aut corpus, aut denique pudor possit; quibus sumptis, mulier parum liquido nudam se non esse jurabit. Hæc ingenti summâ ab ignotis etiam ad commercium gentibus accersuntur, ut matronæ nostræ ne adulteris quidem plus sui in cubiculo quam in publico ostendant.* De Benef. lib. vii. f. 9.

(b) The qualification of a Roman knight was four hundred thousand sesterces; that of a senator, in the time of the republic, eight

hundred thousand; and under the emperors, twelve hundred thousand. Suet. in Aug. f. 41.

(c) The censor exercised his authority in the course of every fifth year. See what Tiberius says on the subject of luxury, book iii. f. 53 and 54.

Section XXXIV.

(a) The original has, *Hactenus indulgere matri civile ratus*: Gordon translates it, *he promised in civility to his mother*. The meaning is, to indulge his mother so far, he thought would be no more than the exercise of a civil right.

Section XXXV.

(a) For more of Cneius Piso, see this book, f. xliii.

Section XXXVI.

(a) It was the policy of the court to make all favours to the army issue immediately from the prince, as from the fountain of honours and rewards. Another rule was, to make new friends, by keeping men in expectation of preferment at the end of every year.

Section XXXVII.

(a) Hortensius, the great orator, and rival of Cicero, is said by the elder Pliny to have been a man of unbounded expence. He gave an enormous sum for a set of pictures of the Argonautic expedition, and placed them in a superb gallery, which he built for the purpose, at his country house. Pliny, lib. xxxv. f. 11. No wonder, says Brotier, that his descendants were left in a state of indigence.

Section XLI.

(a) The public treasure (*ærarium*) was kept in the temple of Saturn. See Cicero to Atticus, book vii. epist. 20. Lucan describes Metellus the tribune defending the doors of the temple against Julius Cæsar, who, notwithstanding, entered the place and seized the accumulated wealth of ages. *Pharsalia*, lib. iii. ver. 155.

(b) The reason why a small village was honoured with a statue of Augustus, does not appear.

(c) The

(c) The five children of Germanicus were, Nero and Drusus, whom we shall see cruelly murdered by Tiberius; Caligula, who was afterwards emperor; Agrippina, the mother of the emperor Nero; and Drusilla. Julia, his last child, was born afterwards in the isle of Lesbos. This book, f. 54.

(d) The young Marcellus, who was married to Julia, the daughter of Augustus. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 18.

Section XLII.

(a) The value of three hundred sesterces to each man, Gordon says in a note on this passage, was seven crowns and a half. Others compute it differently. *Non nostrum tantas componere lites.*

(b) It seems to be agreed among the commentators, that Archelaus was under considerable obligations to Tiberius, who had pleaded his cause in the reign of Augustus. Suet. in Tib. f. 8. The curious will find this matter fully discussed in Bayle's Dictionary, article Archelaüs.

(c) He was most probably charged with a design to render himself independent of the empire. To prove this, Dio Cassius says, a witness was called, who, in his zeal against the prince, proved too much. He deposed, that Archelaüs said, when he returned to his own dominions, he would shew Tiberius that his nerves were strong and firm. This evidence astonished the fathers; they knew that Archelaüs was disabled by the gout, and saw him, in a state of decrepitude, brought before them in a litter. The whole assembly burst into a fit of laughter. The prince escaped a sentence of condemnation, but died afterwards in the manner related by Tacitus. See Dio Cassius, book v.

(d) For Commagene and Cilicia, see the Geographical Table.

Section XLIII.

(a) Asia, Ægypt, and the provinces in Africa.

(b) Piso will be seen, in a short time, ruined by his headlong passions. His father was consul A. U. C. 731; before the Christian æra 23.

(c) Plancina was the grand-daughter of Lucius Munatius Plancus, a man distinguished in the history of the triumvirate. In the reign of Augustus,

gustus, he commanded in Gaul, and, for some petty exploits, obtained a triumph. He founded the city of Lyons.

(*d*) Antonia, daughter of Marc Antony by Octavia the sister of Augustus, was the mother of Germanicus; consequently Augustus was great-uncle to Germanicus, and Marc Antony was his grandfather. See the Genealogical Table of the Cæsars, No. 32.

(*e*) Atticus is well known by Cicero's Epistles. Pomponia, his grand-daughter, was the first wife of Agrippa, and mother of Vipsania Agrippina, whom Tiberius married, and divorced by order of Augustus. Drusus, whom Tiberius acknowledged as his son, was the issue of that marriage. See the Genealogical Table of the Cæsars, No. 69.

(*f*) She was sister to Germanicus, and was also called Livilla. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 71.

Section XLIV.

(*a*) For the Suevians, see the Geographical Table.

Section XLV.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Maroboduus has been mentioned, this book, f. xxvi. note (*b*). To what is there said it will not be amiss to add, that he was born among the Marcomanians, and went early to Rome, where he was distinguished by Augustus. Strabo, lib. vii. Endowed with great natural talents, he returned to his own country with an understanding above the level of Barbarians. The Marcomanians at that time inhabited an extensive territory in the district now called *Wirtemberg*, and in part of Suabia. He saw the Romans encroaching every day in the Lower Germany; and the progress of their arms he thought would, in a little time, reduce him to the condition of a sceptred slave. He removed from that dangerous neighbourhood to the Hercynian forest (see the Geographical Table), and, having expelled the Boians from the country, called *Boiohemum*, established his kingdom in that region. He extended his new dominions towards the south, and, by consequence, approached to the vicinity of the Romans. Tiberius was sent by Augustus to

check the progress of the German king, who must have been crushed by the army employed against him, if a sudden revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia had not caused a suspension of hostilities. Whether that insurrection was effected by the intriguing genius of Maroboduus, cannot now be known. He offered terms of accommodation, and the politic Tiberius (as mentioned in this book, section xxvi.) concluded a treaty of peace. From that time Maroboduus courted the alliance of Rome, and, by consequence, drew on himself the hatred of the German nations. See Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. f. 24 and 25. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. f. 109.

Section XLVI.

(a) The expedition of Tiberius was A. U. C. 759.

(b) Tiberius considered him as a dangerous enemy, and therefore sent his son Drusus to extirpate him, not by open war, but by craft and insidious policy. See this book, f. 63.

Section XLVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section XLVIII.

(a) Lipsius says, he will endeavour to take aim in the dark, and tell, as well as can be done at such a distance of time, who this woman was. He concludes that she was an enfranchised slave, and that her patron, who by law was entitled to the effects of his freedwoman dying intestate, not being clearly ascertained, her property went of course to the *fiscus*, or exchequer of the prince. Tiberius chose to wave his right, and grant the whole to Lepidus, who had some connection with the deceased.

Section XLIX.

(a) Aulus Posthumius was dictator A. U. C. 258.

(b) Duillius obtained a signal victory over the Carthaginian fleet, A. U. C. 494.

Section L.

(a) See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 22.

(b) The

(b) The law against adultery was called *Lex Julia*, because Augustus, the author of it, had been adopted by Julius Cæsar. See Justinian's Institutes, lib. iv. tit. 18. The wife, who was found guilty, forfeited half her effects, and was banished to an island. By the old law, as stated by Livy, the woman convicted of a crime was delivered over to her relations to be punished in private. If there was nobody to whose custody she could be committed, she was punished in public. *Majores damnatas cognatis tradebant, ut ipsi in privato animadverterent. Si nemo erat idoneus supplicii exactor, in publico animadvertebatur.* Livy, lib. xxxix.

Section LI.

(a) By the law called *Papia Poppæa*, the candidate who had the greatest number of children was to be deemed duly elected. In consequence of this law, it became the common practice of men who had no issue, but were determined, at all events to secure their election, to adopt a competent number, and, as soon as they obtained the government of provinces, to renounce their fictitious children. The fraud was afterwards repressed. See Annals, xv. f. 19.

Section LII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) The *Mauri*, inhabitants of Mauritania, bordered on what is now called *Algiers*. See the Geographical Table.

(c) See the Geographical Table.

(d) M. Furius Camillus obtained a complete victory over the Gauls, and saved the city of Rome, A. U. C. 364. 364 B.C.

Section LIII.

(a) Suetonius says, Augustus, to perpetuate the glory of his victory at Actium, built the city of *Nicotolis*, near the Bay; established quinquennial games; and, having enlarged an old temple of Apollo, adorned it with naval spoils, and dedicated it to Neptune and Mars. In Aug. f. 18.

Section LIV.

(a) Before the birth of Julia, Germanicus had five children, who were all exhibited to the people of Rome in their father's triumphal car. See in this book, f. 41.

(b) An island in the Ægean sea (see the Geographical Table). The religious rites of the place were held in the highest veneration, and the initiation into the mysteries was in as high repute as those of Eleusis, called the *Eleusinian* mysteries. Suidas says, it was generally believed, that such as visited Samothracia, and were initiated into the mysteries, were sure to be protected from all future danger. Brotier thinks this might be Germanicus's reason for wanting to visit that island.

(c) A town of Ionia, in Asia, on a promontory of the Ægean sea. Pliny the elder mentions the oracle of the Clarian Apollo, and the sacred cave, where he, who drank from the spring, was inspired with prophetic fury, but shortened his days. *In specu lacuna est, cujus potu mira redduntur oracula, bibentium brevior vitâ.* Pliny, lib. ii. f. 3.

Section LV.

(a) The supreme court of judicature at Athens. It derived its name from the place where it was held, being an hill not far distant from the city, called ἀρειοστεργος, *Mars's* hill. Whether first instituted by Solon, or improved by him, is not certain, nor is it agreed what number of persons composed that venerable assembly. They heard and determined all causes at night, and in the dark. To laugh in their assembly was an unpardonable act of levity, and, by an express law, no member was to be the author of a comedy. See Potter's Antiquities, vol. i. p. 101.

Section LVI.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Lipsius says, there had been many kings of the name of *Artaxias*, and the city was called *Artaxata* after one of them.

(c) This vast country submitted to be a Roman province under Tiberius. The people of *Commagene* followed the example. Caligula

restored the kingdom to Antioch, son of the last king. Vespasian finally reduced it to the form of a province.

Section LIX.

(a) To go with the feet bare, or with sandals that did not cover them, *nexæ sine tegmine plantæ*, was an Ægyptian custom, and from thence passed into Greece.

(b) Scipio's conformity to foreign manners was censured by Fabius Maximus, as a dangerous example, tending to corrupt the Roman discipline. *Ipsius enim imperatoris non Romanus modo, sed ne militaris quidem cultus jactabatur; cum pallio, crepidisque inambulare in Gymnasio.* Livy, lib. xxix.

(c) To visit *Sicily*, and the provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, was at all times permitted to the senators and other eminent citizens. Ægypt, by the policy of Augustus, was a sequestered and prohibited province. The senate had no authority over it. The administration was altogether in the hands of the prince. Ægypt was the great corn country, from which Rome drew vast supplies, and it was thought advisable to keep it in the hands of the emperor, among the secret resources of the state, *inter arcana imperii*. The mouths of the Nile, and the isthmus of Suez, could be defended by a small force.

Section LX.

(a) The Ægyptians, according to Diodorus Siculus, affirmed, that the Grecian Hercules was several thousand years posterior to the hero of their own country. See Herodotus in Euterpe.

(b) A city in Upper Ægypt, celebrated by ancient writers for its vast dimension and an hundred gates, all long since laid in ruins. Juvenal says, satire xv.

Atque vetus Thebæ centum jacet obruta portis.

The place, now called *Habou*, is the constant resort of travellers, who tell wonders of Ægyptian grandeur, and the monuments of antiquity still remaining.

(c) Before the invention of letters, the Ægyptians expressed the ideas passing in the mind by the figures of animals and other emblematic

tic forms. See an Account of the Origin of Letters, Annals, book xi. f. 14. And see Diodorus Siculus, lib. iv. cap. 1.

(d) Lipsius says, he has read nothing of this prodigious strength, nor is he willing to believe it. And yet Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. relates wonders of the riches, and the armies of Sesostris, who extended his conquests over Æthiopia and Asia, and at last penetrated into Thrace, where he erected a monument, with an inscription in Ægyptian characters: "Sesostris, the king of kings, subdued this province." Pliny mentions king Rhamises, or Rhamfes, who reigned at the time of the siege of Troy. Pliny, lib. xxxvi. f. 8.

(e) It is to be regretted that Tacitus did not, in this place, state the amount of the Parthian and the Roman revenue. For more on this head, see Annals, book xiii. f. 50 and 51, note (a).

Section LXI.

(a) Strabo says, book xvii. that he saw this celebrated statue, and a little after sun-rise heard the sound. It is probable, therefore, that there was some contrivance or deception. Juvenal mentions it in his xvth satire, ver. 5.

Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ.

Doctor Akenfide has described it in the Pleasures of Imagination:

As Memnon's marble harp, renown'd of old
By fabling Nilus, to the quiv'ring touch
Of Titan's ray, with each repulsive string
Consenting, founded through the warbling air
Unbidden strains, &c.

(b) The lake *Mareotis*, which looks like a great sea to the south of Alexandria. Several channels are cut to receive the overflowings of the Nile. The wine of the adjoining territory is called *Mareoticum* by Virgil and Horace. There is another lake (Mæris, or Mæridos) now called Lake *Bathea*, in which, Brotier says, the remains of ancient pyramids are often discovered.

(c) These reservoirs, with a number of subterraneous caves, which

are

are so many receptacles for the waters of the Nile, are described by Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxii. cap. 15.

(d) *Elephantinè* is an island in the Nile, in the Higher Ægypt, towards the borders of Æthiopia, not far from the town of *Syenè*, which lies still more to the south. Strabo says, the Romans had a garrison at *Syenè*, and there Tacitus places the boundary of the Roman empire in the reign of Tiberius and the following emperors, as low down as Trajan, whose enterprising spirit forgot the maxims of Augustus, and extended his conquests as far as the Red Sea. See Annals, book i. f. 11, note (b); and Annals, book iv. f. 5.

Section LXII.

(a) For the Gothones, see the Geographical Table; and also the Manners of the Germans, f. xliii. note (b).

(b) There were no regular towns in Germany. When the word *civitas* occurs in the Latin historians, it generally means a people, or a state, not what is now called a city. Maroboduus, however, like our ancient Barons, had his castle, or palace. Lipsius says, after Strabo, that it was called *Boviesmun*, in the Hercynian forest. Brotier and others are of opinion that it was near the city of *Prague*.

Section LXIII.

(a) Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, invaded Italy A. U. C. 476; before the Christian æra 278. Antiochus III. king of Syria, was defeated by Lucius Scipio, A. U. C. 564. Livy, lib. xxxvii. f. 45.

Section LXIV.

(a) Ovid has confirmed the character given by Tacitus of this prince. His ninth elegy, *De Ponto*, is addressed to Cotys, praying a safe retreat in his dominions. He says, he has seen verses by Cotys, and one poet owes protection to another.

Regia progenies, cui nobilitatis origo
Nomen in Eumolpi pervenit usque, COTY !

Fama loquax vestras si jam pervenit ad aures,
 Me tibi finitimi parte jacere soli;
 Supplicis exaudi, juvenum mitissime, vocem;
 Quamque potes profugo (nam potes) affer opem.

* * * * *

Ejusdem sacri cultor, uterque fumus.
 Ad vatem vates orantia brachia tendo,
 Terra sit exiliis ut tua fida meis.

DE PONTO, epist. ix.

Section LXVI.

(a) During the administration of Pomponius Flaccus, Ovid says he lived in security on the banks of the *Ister*.

Præfuit his, Græcine, locis modo FLACCUS, et illo
 Ripa ferox Istri sub duce tuta fuit.

DE PONTO, lib. ix. epist. 9.

Section LXVII.

(a) Ptolemy Philopater died A. U. C. 550. His son was an infant about five years old. The people of Alexandria craved the protection of Rome, and the senate sent Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, then chief pontiff, and a man of strict integrity, to act as guardian to the young king during his minority. Justin, lib. xxx. Valerius Maximus, lib. xii.

Section LXVIII.

(a) Remmius is called a *resumed* veteran. The original has *evocatus*, which was the word for a veteran, who had quitted the service and returned to it again. See an account of the death of Vonones. Suet. in Tib. f. 49.

Section LXIX.

(a) Dio Cassius gives the same account.

Section LXXI.

(a) Tiberius was his father by adoption; Drusus, the son of Tiberius, was of course his brother.

(b) The malice of Livia, and Plancina, Piso's wife.

Section

Section LXXII.

(a) See the character of Germanicus in Suetonius, Life of Calig. f. 3.

Section LXXIII.

(a) The family images were left at Rome.

(b) Suetonius states this iniquity of magic spells and imprecations as a fact. Livid spots, he says, appeared all over the body; and when it was committed to the flames, the heart remained entire, being, according to the general opinion, proof against fire, when tainted with poison. Suet. in Calig. f. 1. La Bletterie, in his note on this passage, says he has been told by English gentlemen, that the heart of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was, in like manner, spared by the flames; but, if the fact were so, he is not willing to attribute it to the operation of poison, since it is not probable that Queen Mary, who ordered that prelate to be burnt at Oxford, poisoned him before he was publicly executed.

Section LXXIV.

(a) Publius Vitellius, uncle to Vitellius the emperor. See Annals, book i. f. 70.

Section LXXXII.

(a) The public demonstrations of joy were so loud and violent, that Tiberius was wakened in the night, and had the mortification of hearing the people sing, Rome is safe, our country is safe, Germanicus is safe. *Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus.* Suet. in Calig. f. 6.

Section LXXXIII.

(a) The Salian priests, called *Salii* from *salire*, were instituted by Numa. They were twelve in number; all dedicated to the worship of MARS, the God of War, whom they celebrated, with song and dance, in a solemn procession through the streets of Rome. See Livy, lib. i. f. 20. Their hymns were at first in honour of the gods; but we find that the ambition of men soon aspired to have their names inserted in the *Carmen Saliare*. See Plutarch in the Life of Numa. To intermix the name of any man with the Gods, was a kind of

APOTHEOSIS, and that honour was what the senate intended for Germanicus. As to the curule chair, that distinction, which was at first granted to the living only, became in time a monument to the memory of departed virtue.

(b) Pliny the elder says, that the images of eminent men were represented on the shield which they had been used to wear; and thence the images in honour of their memory were usually called SHIELDS. Pliny, lib. xxxv. f. 3. Why the shield of Germanicus was to be placed among the orators, we learn from Suetonius, who says that Germanicus, among other works of genius, left Greek comedies written by himself. See Life of Caligula, f. iii. Ovid dedicated his FASTI to Germanicus, whom he celebrates as an orator and a poet:

Quæ sit enim culti facundia sensimus oris,
Civica pro trepidis cum tulit arma reis.
Scimus et, ad nostras cum se tulit impetus artes,
Ingenii currant flumina quanta tui.
FAST. lib. i. ver. 21.

Section LXXXV.

(a) Women of inferior rank were allowed, in ancient times, to exempt themselves from the penalties of the law, by entering themselves as prostitutes in the register of the Ædiles. Suetonius says it began in the reign of Tiberius; but, if we believe Tacitus, the meaning must be, that the custom was then, for the first time, adopted by women of illustrious birth.

(b) By the *Lex Julia de Adulteriis*, sixty days from the commission of the crime were allowed to the husband to prepare for the prosecution.

(c) Tacitus seems to confound the Ægyptian and Jewish religion; and, indeed, it does not appear in his account of the Jewish nation (Hist. book v.), that he ever made it his business to investigate the history of that people. For the proceedings against the Jews and Ægyptians, see Suetonius in Tib. f. 36.

Section LXXXVII.

(a) Gordon calls it fourteen-pence a measure. Whether his calculation

culatation be right, the curious in such matters will judge for themselves.

(b) The word *Dominus* implied at first the master of slaves. Tiberius knew how to mask his arbitrary power under the mild, but deceitful, import of republican names. He was used to say, "I am the general of the army, the first of senators, and lord and master of my slaves only." In some time after, when the fathers expressed an inclination to give the name of Tiberius to the month of November, "What will you do, said he, when you have a thirteenth emperor?" A collection of the popular maxims of despotic princes would form a curious book of royal apothegms. Notwithstanding the artful refusal of Tiberius, the word *Dominus* grew into use as a term of respect to a superior. Seneca says, ad Lucilium, when we meet a person whose name we do not remember, we salute him by the title of *Dominus*. *Obvius, si nomen non succurrit, Dominos salutamus*. Martial, in the time of Domitian, calls the edict of the emperor, the edict of our Lord, our Master, our God. *Edictum Domini, Deique nostri*, lib. v. epig. 8. Adulation continued to offer incense; and the word which Tiberius held to be applicable only to the owner of domestic slaves, was, by common consent, transferred to the emperors. Of this we have a remarkable proof in the epistles of the younger Pliny. The tenth book is a collection of his letters to Trajan, and almost every one of them runs in the style of a man addressing his *Lord and Master*. DOMINE is repeated, till the reader, who knows the epistolary style of the ancient Romans, turns from it with disgust.

Section LXXXVIII.

(a) This war with Pyrrhus was A. U. C. 476. See Valerius Maximus, lib. vi. cap. 5. The letter of Fabricius the consul, to Pyrrhus, warning him against so foul a treachery, is recorded by Plutarch in the Life of Pyrrhus.

(b) We are told by Tacitus, that old songs and ballads were the only memorials of antiquity among the Germans; and their war song, when rushing to battle, was always a commemoration of some ancient hero.

hero. Poets, who sung the praises of deceased warriors, at the tables of kings, are often mentioned by Homer. The Scandinavians had their *scalds*; the Gauls and Germans, their bards; the savages of America, their rude verses; and all those different nations had their “youths, who died, to be by poets sung.” See Manners of the Germans, f. ii. note (*e*); and f. iii. note (*a*).

N O T E S

ON THE

T H I R D B O O K

O F

T H E A N N A L S.

Section I.

(a) **T**HE two children of Germanicus probably were, Caligula, who, according to Suetonius, accompanied his father into the east; and Julia, who was born in the isle of Lesbos. See book ii. f. 54.

Section II.

(a) These were Nero and Drusus, Agrippina and Drusilla. But it is not probable that the two daughters went so far to meet their father's funeral.

Section III.

(a) For the character of Antonia, see Supplement to book v. f. 27; and see the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 42.

Section VI.

(a) The Romans called themselves the masters of the world, and wherever their legions could penetrate, the nations owned their superiority. The ambassadors sent to Rome by Pyrrhus being asked, at their return, what they thought of the Romans? The city, they said, appeared to be a temple, and the senate a convention of kings. Florus, lib. i. cap. 18. Cicero, in the Oration *pro Domo sua*, calls the Roman people the masters of kings, the conquerors and commanders of all other

other nations. *Ille, ille populus est dominus regum, victor atque imperator omnium gentium.*

(b) Julia was the daughter of Julius Cæsar by his wife Cornelia. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 6.

(c) The *Megalesian* games were so called from *μεγαλη θεα*, the great goddess, or *magna mater*. They were celebrated in the month of April, and lasted seven days. Germanicus died in the preceding month of November. The grief of the people at Rome was so violent, that even the *Saturnalian* games, which were towards the end of December, could not put a stop to the general sorrow. See Suet. in Calig. f. 6. The mourning, we find from Tacitus, continued to the month of April following.

Section IX.

(a) Now the Gulf of Venice.

Section X.

(a) For an account of these suspicions, see Suetonius in Tib. f. 52.

Section XIV.

(a) The *Gemoniæ Scalæ* were a flight of steps at the bottom of the Capitoline Hill, where the bodies of malefactors were exposed, and then dragged by a hook fixed in the throat, and thrown into the Tiber.

Section XVI.

(a) Piso had been joint consul with Augustus A. U. C. 731, and afterwards with Tiberius, A. U. 747.

Section XVII.

(a) Tiberius was willing to make the apology of a young man. He could not mean, in the latitude here laid down, that the son is bound in all cases to obey the father's orders. Quintilian has well observed, that parents are not to be obeyed in every thing. To receive benefits, he adds, would be highly dangerous, if by obligations men were bound to every kind of service. They would in that case be in the worst state of thralldom. *Non omnia præstanda parentibus. Alioquin*
nihil

nihil est perniciosius acceptis beneficiis, si in omnem nos obligant servitutem.
See Grotius De Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 26.

(b) In the time of the republic, the consul, who presided in the senate, put the question to the fathers in every debate; but he neither called upon his colleague, nor the prætors, nor any of the acting magistrates. He addressed himself to the prince of the senate, the consuls elect, and after them to the members of consular rank, and in regular succession to the rest of the senate. The reason of this arrangement seems to have been an idea that the magistrates, if they took the lead, would have too much influence on the rest of the assembly. After the change of government, the same practice continued, with this difference; if the emperor attended the debates in the senate, he, of course, was the supreme magistrate, and in that case it was his to collect the voices. He began with the consuls actually in office, and proceeded to the other magistrates according to their rank. See a Dissertation, entitled, "The Roman Emperor in the Senate;" Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxvii. 4to edit.

Section XVIII.

(a) Julius Antonius was son to Antony the triumvir. He was found guilty of adultery with Julia the daughter of Augustus, and punished with death. Annals, book iv. f. 44.

(b) It is unnecessary to repeat, that Claudius was brother to Germanicus. He was at this time neglected and despised. See Suet. in Claud. f. 2; and see Supplement to book v. f. 24.

Section XIX.

(a) She was the daughter of Agrippa, married to Tiberius, and divorced from him. See Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 69.

Section XX.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section XXI.

(a) Appius Claudius, consul A. U. C. 259, commanded in the war
against

against the *Volsci*. The soldiers, regardless of discipline and subordination, paid no respect to their officers, and, in consequence of their contumacy, suffered a defeat. As soon as they returned to their camp, Claudius punished the ring-leaders with death, and decimated the rest of his army. *Cætera multitudo, sorte decimus quisque, ad supplicium lecti*. Livy, lib. ii. f. 59. See also Polybius, book vi. cap. 2.

(b) A town in Numidia. See the Geographical Table.

Section XXII.

(a) Lepida's ancestors were allied to the Æmilian family. Faustus Sylla, son of the dictator, was her father; and Pompeia, daughter of Pompey the Great, was her mother. Suetonius says, *Condemnatam et generosissimam fœminam, Lepidam, in gratiam Quirini, consularis prædixit et orbi, qui dimissam eam matrimonio, post vigessimum annum, veneni olim in se comparati arguebat*. Life of Tiberius, f. 49.

(b) There were at Rome four different ways of detaining the accused in custody: viz. the common jail; commitment to a military guard; commitment to the care of the consuls or other magistrates in their own houses, which Sallust, in Catilinâ, sect. xlvii. calls *liberas custodias*; and lastly, sureties for the person's appearance, which is what we call *being out upon bail*.

Section XXIII.

(a) The *Theatre* of Pompey, dedicated A. U. C. 699. For a further account of that magnificent structure, capable, according to Pliny, lib. xxxv. f. 15, of holding forty thousand persons, see Annals, book xiv. f. 20.

Section XXIV.

(a) Julia married to Agrippa, and their daughter Julia married to Lucius Æmilius Paulus. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 46 and 52.

(b) Julius Antonius, for his adulterous connexion with Julia the daughter of Augustus, was put to death; and Silanus, for the like offence with Julia the grand-daughter, was condemned to banishment. For Julius Antonius, see Annals, book iv. f. 44.

Section XXV.

(a) The law *Papia Poppæa* derived its name from the two consuls who were the authors of it; namely, Marcus PAPIUS Mutilus, and Quintus POPPÆUS, A. U. C. 762; the ninth of the Christian æra. Dio observes, that the two consuls had neither wife nor children; and for that reason, a law which imposed penalties on celibacy, and rewarded the married state, was the more acceptable, because disinterested.

(b) In the time of the republic, laws were finally passed by the people, who were asked, Is it your will and order that this shall be a law? The question was called ROGATIO. Cicero, in his Oration *pro Domo sua*, gives the form of words: *Velitis, jubeatis, Quirites, ut M. Tullio aqua et ignis interdiciantur*. This being the manner of enacting laws, ROGATIO and LEX became synonymous terms. Florus uses ROGATIO in that sense, lib. iii. f. 17. Julius Cæsar passed several laws to encourage population, but without effect.

(c) The luxury of the times occasioned so much extravagance, that men did not choose the additional expence of rearing children. See Manners of the Germans, f. xviii. note (f).

Section XXVI.

(a) It may be made a question, whether a period of pure simplicity and innocence ever existed? Seneca expatiates in praise of those times, epist. xc. and the poets have been lavish in their description of the golden age; but the history of mankind has no proofs of the fact. An ingenious writer says, Who were those men that lived in so much innocence? The first man who was born into the world, killed the second. When did the times of simplicity begin?

Section XXVII.

(a) The two Gracchi were leaders of the popular party, in opposition to the senate and the patrician order. Tiberius Gracchus was the great factious demagogue, A. U. C. 621; his brother, Caius adopted the same measures A. U. C. 633. See an account of them, Florus, lib. iii. cap. 14 and 15. See also the Dialogue concerning Eloquence, f. xviii. note (d). Apuleius Saturninus endeavoured to enforce the laws

laws of the Gracchi, and was killed in the contention, A. U. C. 654. See Florus, lib. iii. cap. 16.

(b) M. Livius Drusus was a grand corruptor in the name of the senate. He carried the arts of bribery beyond all former example. He died A. U. C. 663. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 17.

(c) Florus (lib. iii. cap. 18.) calls this the *Social War*; but as it involved all Italy, it is called by Tacitus the *Italic War*. It was in the year of Rome 663. The civil war, which followed, was between Marius and Sylla, A. U. C. 666. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21.

(d) Sylla usurped the authority of dictator A. U. C. 672, and exercised those extraordinary powers till the year 675. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21 and 23. He then abdicated the dictatorship, and died A. U. C. 676.

(e) Lepidus was for abrogating all the laws of Sylla. See Florus, lib. iii. f. 23.

(f) Sylla saw that the tribunes made an ill use of their power, and therefore reduced those magistrates within due bounds. Pompey, in his consulship, A. U. C. 684, re-established the tribunitian power. Speaking of this act, Cicero says he was in the habit of mentioning Pompey, upon all occasions, with the highest commendation; but with regard to the tribunitian power, he chose to be silent. He was not willing to condemn that measure, and to approve was not in his power. *Pompeium nostrum cæteris rebus omnibus semper amplissimis summisque effero laudibus. De tribunitiâ potestate taceo; nec enim reprehendere libet, nec laudare possum.* Cicero De Legibus, lib. iii. cap. 9. The translation of what follows, it must be acknowledged, is not exact. The words are, *The public good was no longer thought of: new characters appeared, and new statutes were enacted.* The original says, *Jamque non modo in commune, sed in singulos homines latæ quæstiones.* The true meaning seems to be, Laws were made not for the public only, but also with a view to individuals. The last was against the spirit and positive institutions of the Roman republic. Laws respecting particular persons were called *Privilegium*, from *priva lex*, a private law, which was forbidden, says Cicero, De Legibus, lib. iii. cap. 4. by the Twelve Tables; *Privilegia ne irroganto*; and again, in the Oration *pro Domo suâ, Utant leges sacratæ,*

sacratæ, vetant XII Tabulæ leges privatis hominibus irrogari; id est enim privilegium. Cicero is more explicit and diffuse against particular laws in the case of individuals, in the Oration PRO SEXTIO, f. 30. They were not unlike the *ex post facto* laws, and bills of attainder, which have been heard of in this country, it is to be hoped to revive no more.

Section XXVIII.

(a) Pompey's third consulship was A. U. C. 702; before the Christian æra 52. One of his rules was, that no magistrate should be governor of a province, before the end of five years after the expiration of his office; and then he took upon himself the government of Spain for the additional term of five years. Dio, lib. xl.

(b) The twenty years of civil distraction are to be computed from the death of Pompey, A. U. C. 706. Augustus was consul for the sixth time, A. U. C. 726; before the Christian æra 28.

(c) Informers were encouraged, by the law *Papia Poppæa*, to hold a strict watch over such as lived in a state of celibacy.

Section XXIX.

(a) Dio informs us, that while Augustus, after all his victories, was still absent from Rome, the senate, by a decree, established a new magistracy, consisting of twenty, to superintend the police and good government of the city. Their duty was divided into different departments: three to sit in judgment; three to direct the coinage; four to superintend the public ways; and ten to preside in such causes as were tried by the centumviri. The office was continued by Augustus, and became the previous step to the higher magistracies. The time for entering on the quæstorship was at the age of four-and-twenty; consequently Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, might begin his career of honours when turned of nineteen.

(b) Drusus, the son of Tiberius. He married *Livia*, otherwise *Livilla*, the daughter of Drusus, who was brother to Tiberius. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 70 and 71.

(c) Claudius, afterwards emperor, was brother to Germanicus. He had

had a son named Drusus, who died very young. The intended marriage never took place. See the Genealogical Table, No. 102.

Section XXX.

(a) Sallustius Crispus, the minister privy to the death of Agrippa Posthumus, has been already mentioned, Annals, book i. f. 6. His gardens, and other articles of luxury, are described by Pliny, lib. vii. f. 16; and lib. xxxiv. f. 2.

Section XXXI.

(a) For more of Mamercus Scaurus, a man famous for his talents at the bar, but detested for his vicious course of life, see Annals, book vi. f. 29.

Section XXXII.

(a) It has been already mentioned that Augustus, having reserved some provinces for his own management, resigned the rest to the senate. Asia and Africa were in the number assigned to the fathers, and were always considered as consular governments. Two, who had discharged the office of consul, were named, and the province of each was decided by lot. That rule, however, was waved in sudden emergencies, and a proconsul was sent without any form of election or ballot.

Section XXXIII.

(a) Plancina, the wife of Piso.

(b) The tribunal where the consuls sat in judgment, was called Prætorium.

(c) Caius Oppius, tribune of the people A. U. C. 541, was the author of a law, by which the women were laid under several restrictions in the articles of dress and other expences. That law was repealed, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Cato the censor, A. U. C. 559. See Livy, lib. xxxiv. f. 38. But still it was thought necessary that the female sex should be held within due bounds, and other sumptuary laws were enacted.

Section XXXIV.

(a) For Corvinus Messala, who flourished in the time of Augustus, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. xii. note (e).

(b) He was married to Livia, the sister of Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 71.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) Pliny the younger, in his panegyric on the emperor Trajan, says that neither the laws enacted in the consulship of Voconius, nor the Julian law, conduced so much to enrich the exchequer of the prince and the public treasury, as the charge of violated majesty, too often the only charge against those who were free from every crime. *Locuple tabant et fiscum et aerarium non tam Voconia et Juliae leges, quam majestatis singulare et unicum crimen eorum qui crimine vacarent.* Pliny, in Paneg. f. 42.

(b) It is probable that Antistius was a Roman by birth, who had settled in Macedonia, and there became a man of the first consequence.

Section XXXIX.

(a) Some of the commentators will have the person here mentioned, to be Velleius Paterculus the historian; but the prænomen PUBLIUS seems to denote a different man.

Section XLI.

(a) Being thought dead, some years afterwards, and laid on his funeral pile, he waked from his lethargy, but, for want of assistance, was consumed in the flames. Pliny, lib. vii. f. 52. Valerius Maximus, lib. i. cap. 8.

Section XLII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section XLIII.

(a) Vifellius Varro commanded on the Lower Rhine, and Caius Silius on the Upper.

Section

Section XLV.

(a) The Gauls, under the conduct of Brennus, stormed the city of Rome A. U. C. 664; before the Christian æra 390. Livy, lib. v. f. 35. They fought no less than thirty battles with Julius Cæsar. Brotier, in his note on this passage, is at great pains to retrieve the fame of the ancient Gauls, who have been, in his opinion, too much neglected, and indeed consigned to oblivion, by the irruption of the FRANKS. But the Gauls, he says, were a great and powerful nation, while Rome, under Tarquinius Priscus, was yet in its infancy; and though the name of FRANKS has been adopted by his countrymen, yet the nature of the first inhabitants has not been extinguished. The Gallic mind, the Gallic genius, and the Gallic manners have been transmitted from age to age, insomuch, that what Julius Cæsar said of the people almost two thousand years ago, is true at this hour. So far Brotier. Those who are fond of researches into remote antiquity, and, as Doctor Goldsmith somewhere expressed it, who love to pursue the chase when the dews of the morning have passed away, will find in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 367, 8vo edit. an elaborate history of the ancient Gauls. But whether in the history of those barbarous times, any thing can be found to equal the carnage, blood, and massacre, which have lately disgraced their descendants, and excited the horror and indignation of all Europe, may be made a question.

Section XLVIII.

(a) The same Quirinius who has been mentioned in this book, f. xxii.

Section LII.

(a) The particular instances of Roman luxury, and the wealth and profusion of individuals, would lead to a long digression. Apicius, and others of that class of epicures, are well known. Lucan has given a general account of the origin and progress of luxury:

Namque ut opes nimias mundo fortuna subacta
Intulit, et rebus mores cessere secundis,
Prædaque et hostiles luxum suasere rapinæ,
Non auro tectisve modus; mensasque priores

Aspernata fames; cultus gestare decoros
 Vix nuribus, rapuere mares; fecunda virorum
 Paupertas fugitur, totoque accersitur orbe
 Quo gens quæque perit. Longos tum jungere fines
 Agrorum, et duro quondam fulcata Camilli
 Vomere, et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones
 Longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis.

PHARSALIA, lib. i.

Section LIII.

(a) Tiberius, who writes this letter to the senate, was so well known to be fond of his glass, that, instead of *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, he was called *BIBERIUS CALDIUS MERO*. But though he was addicted to wine, he shewed no disposition to the prevailing luxury of the times, till his excesses broke out in the isle of *Caprea*. What Tiberius says of the fashionable style of dress, common to both sexes, is confirmed in the passage above quoted from Lucan :

————— Cultus gestare decoros
 Vix nuribus, rapuere mares.—

Horace describes a Roman lady in her silk dress from the isle of Coos, so thin, that it might be said to be transparent.

————— Cois tibi pæne videre est,
 Ut nudam.

Pliny the elder tells us, that the men in the summer season did not blush to follow their example; and were so little inclined to wear the military breast-plate, that their very clothes were a burthen. *Non puduit has vestes usurpare etiam viros, levitatem propter æstivam. In tantum a loricâ gerendâ discessere mores, ut oneri sit etiam vestis.* Pliny, lib. xi. f. 23. See in this book, f. xxxiii. note (a).

Section LV.

(a) The battle of Actium was A. U. C. 722. Galba was murdered A. U. C. 823.

Section

Section LVI.

(a) Lipfius obferves that Drufus, according to this account, was fix-and-thirty years of age. Tiberius was born A. U. C. 712, and was invefted with the tribunitian power by Auguftus A. U. C. 748.

Section LVIII.

(a) The death of Cornelius Merula deferves particular notice. He faw Marius and Cinna in poffeffion of Rome, and the moft illuftrious citizens bleeding in one general maffacre. He abdicated his office of conful, and, opening his veins, fprinkled with his blood the very altar, where, in his character of prieft of Jupiter, he had frequently offered up his prayers for the peace and happinefs of his country. With his laft breath he poured forth his execration of Cinna, and, having invoked the vengeance of the gods on that traitor's head, clofed a life of honour and virtue. *Merula autem, qui fe sub adventum Cinnæ confulatu abdicaverat, incis venis superfufoque altaribus fanguine, quos pro falute reipublicæ Flamen Dialis precatus erat Deos, eos in execrationem Cinnæ partiumque ejus tum precatus, optime de republicâ meritum fpiritum reddidit.* Velleius Paternulus, lib. ii. f. 22. This was A. U. C. 667. From that time no prieft of Jupiter was appointed till the year of Rome 743, when Auguftus revived the office. Dio, lib. liv. The interval was a fpace of feventy-fix years.

Section LIX.

(a) The emperor was not only commander in chief of the armies of Rome, in his character of IMPERATOR, and the fole director of all civil bufinefs, by his tribunitian power; but he was alfo, as high pontiff, at the head of the religion of his country.

Section LX.

(a) For a full account of the origin and progreff of fanctuaries, fee Grotius, De Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 21. See alfo Spanheim, De Ufu Numifmatus, cap. ix.

Section LXII.

(a) Lucius Scipio conquered Antiochus A. U. C. 564. Mithridates was driven out of Afia by Lucius Sylla A. U. C. 670.

(b) The

(b) The Persian monarchy was founded by Cyrus A. U. C. 195; before the Christian æra 559.

(c) Marcus Perperna conquered Aristonicus, who made an irruption into Asia A. U. C. 624. See Justin, lib. xxxvi. f. 4. Publius Servilius, in the year of Rome 679, conquered the pirates of Cilicia, and, after reducing the principal cities of their country, stormed the citadel called ISAUROS, and thence took the name of ISauricus. *Unde, conficius sibi magni laboris, Isaurici cognomen adamavit.* Florus, lib. iii. f. 6.

(d) For king Aérias, see History, book ii. f. 3.

Section LXIII.

(a) The *Venus Stratonice* was so called after *Stratonice*, grand-mother of *Seleucus II.* who mounted the throne of Syria A. U. C. 507. Whoever desires to know more about the worship paid to this goddess, will find a particular account in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. p. 413, 4to edit.

Section LXIV.

(a) All questions of war and peace, the suspension of hostilities and treaties of alliance, were referred to their decision. *Fœderum, pacis, belli, induciarum oratores feciales iudicesque sunt.* Cicero, De Legibus, lib. ii. f. 9.

Section LXV.

(a) The original says, *Etiam pedarii senatores*: that is, the senators, who, when the sense of the assembly was taken *per discessionem*, i. e. *when the house divided*, walked over to the side of those with whom they agreed. This was, according to Sallust in Catil. *pedibus in sententiam ire.* Hence the verse of Laberius the satirist: A head without a tongue, is a pedestrian opinion. *Caput sine linguâ, pedaria sententia est.*

Section LXVI.

(a) Scipio Africanus accused Lucius Cotta A. U. C. 622. Cotta was acquitted, lest the weight and dignity of the prosecutor should be thought to influence the judges. See Valerius Maximus, lib. viii. cap. 1. Galba had been governor of a province of Spain, and was
impeached

impeached by Cato the cenfor, A. U. C. 604. See Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 2; and Cicero, De Claris Orat. f. 23. Rutilius was a candidate for the consulship against Marcus Scaurus, A. U. C. 645. Being disappointed of his election, he accused the successful candidate, and was, in his turn, prosecuted by Scaurus. Cicero, De Clar. Orat. f. xxx.

(b) Seneca mentions Otho and Brutidius; *Controversiæ*, lib. ii. f. 9.

Section LXVIII.

(a) He was, in the time of Augustus, proconsul of Asia; a man of inordinate pride, and a cruel disposition. It is said that three hundred men were put to death by his order in one day. Seneca, De Irâ, lib. ii. cap. 5.

(b) See the Geographical Table.

Section LXX.

(a) For more of Ateius Capito, see this book, f. lxxii.

Section LXXI.

(a) There had been at Rome a temple of the *Equestrian* Fortune, built by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, in memory of a signal victory obtained by him in Spain. Livy, lib. xl. f. 40; and lib. xlii. f. 10.

(b) The objection made by Metellus, was debated with great warmth in the senate, and also before the people. See Livy, lib. xxxvii. f. 51.

Section LXXII.

(a) It was built by Æmilius Paulus, who was consul A. U. C. 704. Cicero calls it a glorious structure. *Nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius.* Ad Atticum, lib. iv. epist. 16.

(b) The public buildings erected by Taurus, Philippus, Balbus and others, are mentioned by Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. f. 89; and more particularly by Suetonius, in Aug. f. xxix.

(c) Seneca says, with indignation, Who could bear to see the statue of Sejanus placed over the ashes of Pompey! a base perfidious soldier among the monuments of a great commander! *Quis non rumperetur,*
supra

supra cineres Cneii Pompeii constitui Sejanum, et in monumentis maximi imperatoris consecrari perfidum militem? De Consolat. cap. xxii.

Section LXXIII.

(a) Spartacus kindled up the servile war in Italy A. U. C. 681. He gained two important victories. Being defeated in a battle with Licinius Crassus, he died bravely sword in hand. See the account in Florus, lib. iii. cap. 20.

(b) Sertorius and Mithridates, king of Pontus, joined in a league against the Romans, A. U. C. 680. Florus, lib. iii. f. 5.

Section LXXIV.

(a) Sallust says, the Numidian huts, called *Mapalia* by the natives, were of an oblong form, with a curve on each side, somewhat resembling a ship. De Bell. Jugurth. f. xviii.

(b) When titles of honour were suppressed, the incentives of valour were extinguished, and military glory faded away.

Section LXXV.

(a) Asinius Saloninus was the son of Asinius Gallus, who has been already mentioned, f. viii. by Vipsania Agrippina, who had been the wife of Tiberius, and was mother of his son Drusus; of course he was grandson to Asinius Pollio, who for his victory over the Salonii, a people of Dalmatia, was called SALONINUS. The grandson enjoyed the title of his grandfather. He was also grandson to Agrippa by his mother's side. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 69.

(b) Ateius Capito has been already mentioned in this book, f. lxx. He was consul A. U. C. 759; of the Christian æra 5. He succeeded Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius for the remainder of their year, and his name, therefore, does not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*.

(c) Antistius Labeo is mentioned with honour in several passages of the Digest. He was one of those men, whose singularities are forgiven on account of their talents and their virtues. His father, an ar-

dent and zealous republican, resolved, after the battle of Philippi, not to survive the loss of public liberty. He was dispatched by his own command, by one of his domestics, whom he enfranchised, that he might not die by the hand of a slave. Appian, lib. iv. The son adopted the principles of his father. He thought, spoke, and acted, upon all occasions, with a republican spirit. Augustus knew his character, and yet respected him. We are told by Pomponius, the civilian, Digest. 1, tit. ii. §. 47, that the consulship for part of the year was offered to him, and rejected. It is probable, that perceiving the state-craft, by which the consular authority was abridged, and, by consequence, impaired, Labeo disdained to be the time-serving consul of the court. Aulus Gellius (lib. xiii. cap. 12) has preserved a fragment of a letter, in which Capito says of his rival, that he was a man almost frantic with the love of liberty. *Agitabat hominem libertas quædam nimia et cæcors*. Noctes Atticæ, lib. xiii. cap. 12. The favourite at the court of Augustus might naturally enough pronounce that judgment. And yet we find that the obsequious Capito could, in the reign of Tiberius, imitate the blunt freedom of his rival. Being told that a word, coined by Tiberius in one of his speeches, was legitimate Latin, or, if it was not, that it would soon become so: That, said Capito, is false; for you, Cæsar, can give the freedom of the city to men, but not to words. *Certe jam mentitur, inquit Capito: Tu enim, Cæsar, civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbis non potes*. Suetonius, De Illust. Grammat. cap. xxii.

Section LXXVI.

(a) Junia was the daughter of Decimus Junius Silanus by Servilia, the sister of Cato of Utica. Servilia was first married to M. Junius Brutus, and by him was the mother of Brutus, who stabbed Julius Cæsar. Junia was, of course, niece to Cato, and half-sister to Brutus. She married Cassius, the friend of Brutus; and thus descended, and thus allied, the sister of one conspirator against Cæsar, and the widow of another, she lived unmolested in the full enjoyment of wealth and honour, to an extreme old age. The battle of Philippi was fought A. U. C. 712. From that time to the year of Rome 775, a period of

sixty-three years complete, Junia possessed splendid riches, and was buried at last with all the honours of a public funeral. The moderation of Augustus protected her, and the cruelty of Tiberius was not yet unchained.

(b) The constitution being overturned, the assertors of public liberty were not displayed; but, as Tacitus elsewhere says, the honour which was denied increased their glory. *Negatus honor gloriam intendit.* Annals, book iv. f. 26.

N O T E S

ON THE

FOURTH BOOK

OF

THE ANNALS.

Section I.

(a) SEE the Geographical Table.

(b) Velleius Paterculus the historian, who lackeyed at the feet of Sejanus, says that the father was the chief of the Roman knights. Nothing more is known of him.

(c) There were three famous epicures of the name of Apicius: one mentioned by Athenæus; a second, in the time of Augustus and Tiberius; and a third, in the reign of Trajan. The second is the person here intended. Seneca says of him, In that city, from which the teachers of philosophy were banished, this man, professing the science of the kitchen, corrupted the manners of the age, by his skill in cookery. *Apicius nostrâ memoriâ vixit, qui in eâ urbe, ex quâ philosophi, ut corruptores juventutis abire jussi sunt, scientiam popinæ professus, disciplinâ suâ sæculum infecit.* Seneca De Consolatione. Finding himself, after a long course of profusion and gluttony, much involved in debt, and, after satisfying all demands, not worth more than what may be called 100,000 l. he finished his days by a dose of poison. Seneca in the place above quoted. For the sake of an anecdote, perhaps little known, it may be proper to mention, that there is extant, in the Latin language, a book, importing to be Apicius's Art of Cookery. La Bletterie relates as a certain fact, that Madam Dacier and her husband were almost

killed.

killed by this book. They found in it a receipt for a particular *ragout*, and being both inclined to dine classically, they were almost poisoned by their learned bill of fare.

(d) The pernicious consequences which attended the rise of Sejanus, will be seen in the sequel. His ruin was equally the cause of public calamity; since Tacitus tells us, that Tiberius, while he loved or feared this favourite minister, restrained his passions, but afterwards broke out with unbounded fury. *Annals*, book vi. f. 51.

(e) Assumed and well-acted virtues are often more dangerous than the worst vices. Addison's Cato says of Julius Cæsar,

Curse on his virtues! they've undone his country.

Section II.

(a) The original says, *inter principia legionum*. The same expression often occurs in Tacitus, and requires an explanation. Between the tents of the legions and the tribunes, a space of an hundred feet in breadth was left, which formed a large street, called *PRINCIPIA*, that ran across the whole camp, and divided it into two parts, the upper and the lower. Duncan's Cæsar, vol. i. *The Roman Art of War*.

Section III.

(a) Drusus, and the three sons of Germanicus, Nero, Drusus, and Caligula.

(b) She was sister to Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 71.

(c) Pliny the elder gives a dark picture of the physicians of his time. They had their opportunities to administer poison, to make wills, and manage intrigues. *Quid enim venenorum fertilius? aut unde plures testamentorum insidiæ? Jam vero et adulteria in principum domibus, ut Eudemi in Livii Drusi Cæsaris.* Lib. xxix. f. 8.

Section IV.

(a) He was then fourteen years of age.

(b) In the time of Tiberius, Syenê, a city strongly garrisoned, at the farther extremity of Ægypt, was the boundary of the Roman empire.

pire. Trajan enlarged the limits as far as the Red Sea. See book i. f. xi. note (b); and book ii. f. lxi. note (b).

Section V.

(a) The two seas were, Mare Adriaticum, the Adriatic, now the Gulf of Venice; Mare Tyrrhenum, now the Tuscan Sea. The former was also called *Mare superum*; the latter *Mare inferum*. Virgil says,

An mare quod supra memorem, quodque alluit infra.

Misenum, now *Capo di Miseno*, was a promontory in the Tuscan sea; Ravenna was a port in the Adriatic. See the Geographical Table.

(b) In Upper and Lower Germany, according to the plan of Augustus. See the Manners of the Germans, f. i. note (a).

(c) Juba's father was king of Numidia. He attached himself to Pompey's party, and took a decided part against Julius Cæsar. Even after the death of Pompey, he stood at bay with Cæsar, and, at length, received a total overthrow in the battle at Thapsa. Determined, however, not to fall into Cæsar's hands, he retired with Petreius, his fellow sufferer, and, at the close of a banquet, fell a voluntary victim by the hand of a friend. His son Juba was led to Rome, to walk in Cæsar's triumph. He was educated at the court of Augustus, and distinguished himself by his talents and his literature. Augustus gave him in marriage the young Cleopatra, daughter of the famous Cleopatra by Marc Antony, and sent him (Numidia being then a Roman province) to reign in Mauritania, A. U. C. 724. For Mauritania, see the Geographical Table.

(d) Annals, book ii. f. 67.

(e) We are told by Dio, lib. lv. that the establishment under Augustus was ten thousand prætorians, divided into ten cohorts, and six thousand in the city cohorts. The number, therefore, was reduced by Tiberius.

(f) For Etruria, Umbria, and ancient Latium, see the Geographical Table.

(g) Besides their fleets for the sea service, the Romans had always proper armaments on the Rhine and the Danube.

Section VI.

(a) The vile abuse of the law of violated majesty has been mentioned, book iii. f. xxxviii. note (a). The first men in Rome were victims to it. In Shakespear's language, *It was a net to emmesh them all*. It will not be amiss to remark, that if we except, as Tacitus does, that single grievance, the description of the nine first years of Tiberius is a more just and better founded panegyric, than can be found in the glittering page of Velleius Paterculus, or any other professed encomiast. And yet this is the historian, whom certain critics have called a painter in dark colours, who loves to represent men worse than they are.

Section VII.

(a) Drusus, the son of Tiberius, cut off by Sejanus, as will be seen in the sequel.

(b) The statue of Sejanus was placed in Pompey's theatre. See book iii. f. 72. His daughter was also to be married to Drusus, the son of Claudius, afterwards emperor. For Drusus, see the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 102.

Section VIII.

(a) The discovery was made by Lygdus A. U. C. 784. See this book, f. xi; and book v. supplement, f. 38.

Section IX.

(a) Attus Clausus, by birth a Sabine, went in the train of followers to settle at Rome, A. U. C. 250. He was well received, and from that time called APPIUS CLAUDIUS, the founder of the Claudian race. Livy, lib. ii. f. 16. Annals, book xi. f. 24.

Section XI.

(a) This passage affords a proof of the historian's integrity.

Section XII.

(a) Seneca represents Tiberius with an inflexible countenance delivering a speech that melted the audience into tears. He adds, by this
firmness,

firmness, so singular on such an occasion, Tiberius proved to Sejanus, who stood at his elbow, that he could see unmoved the desolation of his family. *Experiendum se dedit Sejano ad latus stanti, quam patienter posset suos perdere.* Consol. ad Marciam, f. xv. About four or five months after the death of Drusus, deputies arrived from *Ilium* to condole with Tiberius: And I, he said, condole with you for the loss of Hector. Suet. in Tib. f. liv.

Section XIII.

(a) For *Cibyra* and *Ægium*, see the Geographical Table.

(b) See Annals, book i. f. 53. For *Cercina*, see Geographical Table.

(c) Lucius Apronius has been mentioned, book iii. f. 21. For *Ælius Lamia*, see Annals, book vi. f. 27.

Section XIV.

(a) The assembly of the *Amphietyones* was the grand council, or national convention of Greece. Whether it was founded by *Amphietyon* the son of *Deucalion*, or by *Acrisius*, according to Strabo's opinion, is a question covered by the clouds that hang over remote ages. The confederate cities of Greece sent their representatives to this general assembly, which, at different periods, underwent various changes, some cities renouncing the league, and others being admitted. *Pausanias*, who lived in the time of *Antoninus Pius*, assures us, that the *Amphietyons* were then entire, and that the number was thirty, being delegated from the cities which he enumerates. The assembly had every year two set meetings; one in the spring at *Delphos*, and the other in the autumn at *Thermopylæ*. See Potter's Antiquities, vol. i. page 89; and also the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. iii. and v.

(b) While Rome was made a theatre of blood by Marius and Sylla, Mithridates, king of Pontus, committed a general massacre of the Roman citizens throughout Asia, A. U. C. 666; before the Christian æra 88.

(c) The *Oscan* Farce (called also the *Atellan Fable*, from *Atella*, a town in Campania) was invented by the *Osci*, a people originally of Etruria,

Etruria, but finally settled in Campania. Livy, lib. vii. f. 2. See also Vossius.

Section XV.

(a) He was about four years old. See book ii. f. 84. See the Genealogical Table, vol. ii. No. 72 and 73.

(b) The censorian funeral was the highest honour that could be paid to the deceased. The purple robe, and other *insignia*, distinguished it from a public funeral. See Polybius, lib. vi.

(c) He was mentioned, Annals, book iii. f. 66.

Section XVI.

(a) Three forms of contracting marriage prevailed at Rome.
 1. When a woman cohabited with one man for the space of a year.
 2. When the marriage was a kind of bargain and sale between the parties, which was called *coemptio*.
 3. When the chief pontiff, distributing flower in the presence of ten witnesses, joined the bride and bridegroom. This was called marriage by CONFARRATION. Other marriages were easily dissolved; but that by confarration required the same solemnities (*Diffarreatio*) to divorce the parties. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 427.

Section XX.

(a) What law this was is not agreed among the commentators; but as Tacitus says that Silius was tried on the *Lex Majestatis*, Lipsius thinks that was the law cited on this occasion.

(b) Manius Lepidus has been already mentioned, book i. f. 13; book iii. f. 50. For more of him, see Annals, book vi. f. 27.

(c) The word *immutable* is inserted in the translation, perhaps improperly; since Tacitus, who points out the safest course to steer, does not seem to admit an inevitable fate.

Section XXI.

(a) Calpurnius Piso has been mentioned, much to his honour, book ii. f. 34.

(b) Cassius Severus was an orator of eminence, and a virulent libeller of the first persons of both sexes. He was banished by Augustus. For more

more of him, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, vol. iv. f. xix. note (a).

(c) Seriphus, a small island in the Ægean sea. See the Geographical Table. Juvenal says,

—Et parvâ tandem caruisse Seripho.

SAT. vi. ver. 563.

And in Satire x,

Ut Gyari clausus scopulis, parvâque Seripho.

Section XXIII.

(a) The three statues were, for Furius Camillus, book ii. f. 52; L. Apronius, book iii. f. 21; Junius Blæsus, book iii. f. 72.

(b) Ptolemy was the son of Juba, who was made king of Mauritania by Augustus. See this book, f. v. note (c). He was put to death by Caligula A. U. C. 793. Suet. in Calig. f. 26.

(c) See the Geographical Table.

(d) In general, when Africa occurs, Tacitus intends the Roman province, now *the kingdom of Tunis*.

Section XXV.

(a) A castle in Numidia, now totally destroyed.

Section XXVI.

(a) Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions the same presents sent to Porfena by the Roman senate, A. U. C. 249. Painted robes occur frequently in Homer, and (according to Pliny, lib. viii. f. 48) were used afterwards as triumphal ornaments.

Section XXVII.

(a) When Julius Cæsar was joint consul with Marcus Bibulus, the patricians, with the approbation of Cato, agreed to assign the departments of smallest consequence, such as woods and roads (*sylvæ callesque*) to the care of the new consuls. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. f. 19.

(b) The slaves, increasing in consequence of luxury, began to outnumber the free-born citizens.

Section XXVIII.

(a) We have seen Vibius Serenus, the father, who had been proconsul in Spain, banished to the island of Amergos. This book, f. xiii.

Section XXIX.

(a) The populace threatened the *Robur*, which was the dark dungeon; the *Saxum*, or the *Tarpeian Rock*, from which the malefactors were thrown headlong down; and the pains and penalties of parricides, described by Cicero in his Oration, *Pro Roscio Amerino*, f. xxvi.

(b) For the iniquitous proceedings against Libo, see book ii. f. 27.

Section XXX.

(a) When the person accused was found guilty, the fourth part of his estate and effects went to the prosecutors; but if he prevented judgment by a voluntary death, his property descended to his heirs; and, in that case, the emperor paid his harpies out of the *fiscus*, the imperial exchequer, that is, out of his own coffers. Tiberius felt the burthen of so heavy an expence, and for that reason opposed the motion.

Section XXXI.

(a) Suillius was accused by Seneca in the reign of Nero. In return he declaimed with virulence against the philosopher; but, in the end, was banished to one of the Balearic islands, and there ended his days. *Annals*, book xiii. f. 43.

(b) Catus Firmius plotted the ruin of Libo. See book ii. f. 27.

Section XXXIII.

(a) This passage merits more consideration than can be compressed into a note. It will not, however, be amiss to offer a few remarks. It is admitted, that the three original forms of government, namely, MONARCHY, ARISTOCRACY, and DEMOCRACY, when taken separately, are all defective. Polybius assigns the reason. Monarchy, he says, though conducted according to right reason, will in time degenerate into DESPOTISM. Aristocracy, which means a government of the best men,

men, will be converted into an OLIGARCHY, or the tyranny of a few. Democracy, in its original and purest sense, implies a system, under which the people, trained to the ancient manners of their country, pay due worship to the gods, and obey the laws established by common consent: but such a government is soon changed into tumult, rude force, and anarchy. *For when once the people, accustomed to notions of equality, pay neither rent nor taxes, and commit depredations on their neighbours; if, at such a time, some desperate incendiary should arise, whose poverty has shut him out from all the honours of the state; then commences the government of the multitude, who run together in tumultuous assemblies, and are hurried into every kind of violence; assassinations, banishments, and divisions of lands, till they are reduced at last to a state of savage anarchy.* See Hampton's Polybius, vol. ii. chap. i. And yet Tacitus saw, that the three original forms might be moulded into a beautiful system; but he despaired of ever seeing it established, and he gives his opinion, that it cannot last long. That opinion, however, has been long since refuted. The government of KING, LORDS, and COMMONS, has been the pride of Englishmen, and the wonder of all Europe, during several centuries. Tacitus, with his usual brevity, said less than he thought; but the reason on which he founded his opinion, probably, was, because in all the popular governments then known in the world, the people acted in their collective body; and, with Polybius, Tacitus saw the fatal consequences. He had no idea of a people acting by representation. It is that circumstance, and the wise regulations of our ancestors, that have made in this country *the according music of a well-mixed state.*

(b) The forms of the republican government were still preserved; the magistrates retained their ancient names; *eadem magistratum vocabula*; but the emperor presided over the whole military department, and his tribunitian power gave him the sole direction of all civil business.

Section XXXIV.

(a) Suetonius says, a poet was prosecuted for verses against Agamemnon; and an historian (meaning Cordus) for calling BRUTUS AND CASSIUS THE LAST OF THE ROMANS. The authors were put to death, and their writings suppressed, though they had been read to Augustus,

and approved by that emperor. Suet. in Tib. f. 61. Seneca, in his Essay on Consolation, to Marcia, the daughter of Cremutius Cordus, says, her father was not put to death for praising Brutus and Cassius, but for his keen reflections on Sejanus, and therefore fell a victim. De Consolat. ad Marciam, cap. xxii.

(b) We are told by Plutarch, that the Romans called Philopæmenes the last of the Greeks, as if, after his death, that nation had produced no illustrious character. See the Life of Philopæmenes.

(c) Publius Valerius, afterwards styled PUBLICOLA, was the author of a law, by which any person whatever, who had the ambition to aim at the supreme power, so lately abolished, should forfeit his head and all his effects. Livy, lib. ii. f. 8. Plutarch adds, in the Life of PUBLICOLA, that to kill the man, who favoured royalty, was justifiable homicide, provided the guilt was clearly proved. And yet, notwithstanding this law, Brutus and Cassius were called murderers and parricides.

Section XXXV.

(a) Seneca, de Consolatione ad Marciam, cap. xxii. gives a circumstantial account of his death. He was three days starving himself.

(b) Seneca says to Marcia, Sejanus gave your father as a donative or a largess to his creature *Satrius Secundus*. *Sejanus patrem tuum clienti suo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit*; yet he was not able, with all his interest at court, to suppress the works of Cordus, though he procured an order to burn them by the public officer. Seneca praises Marcia for the filial piety that preserved the works of her father, and brought them into public notice after his death. He tells her, that by saving his writings she gave new life to the books, which he, who suffered death, may be said to have written in his blood. *Ingenium patris tui, de quo sumptum erat supplicium, in usum hominum reduxisti, et a verâ illum vindicasti morte, ac restituisti in publica monumenta libros, quos vir ille fortissimus sanguine suo scripserat*. He adds, that the memory of her father will live, as long as the Romans shall wish to review the history of their own affairs; as long as posterity shall desire to know the man, whose genius was unfettered, whose spirit was unconquered, and whose hand was ready to deliver himself from his enemies. *Cujus viget vigebitque memoria,*

memoria, quamdiu fuerit in pretio Romana cognosci; quamdiu quisquam velit scire, quid sit vir Romanus, indomitus ingenio, animo, manu liber. Seneca, ad Marciam, cap. i. See more on this subject of burning books, Life of Agricola, f. ii. note (c).

Section XXXVI.

(a) The Latin festival was instituted by Tarquinius Superbus, and celebrated every year in the beginning of May, on the Mount *Albanus*; near the ruins of the city of Alba. Livy, lib. li. f. 16. The consuls and other magistrates went forth in procession; and, during their absence, a person of high rank was chosen to discharge the functions of consul, and preserve the peace of the city. See Annals, vi. f. 11. In conformity to this custom, we find Drusus acting on this occasion.

(b) The son who accused his father, this book, f. 28.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) A sense of moral obligation is the true motive of virtue. Many who act from that principle *do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame.* This, however, is not a contempt of fame; it is a wish not to have it thought the spring of virtuous actions. With others, the love of fame is the sole incentive. Some pursue it, regardless of the rectitude of their conduct, but sensible of the value of a fair report in their commerce with the world. *Multi famam, pauci conscientiam verentur.* Others consider fame as the reward of a well-acted life, and know no other motive. The effect, in the last case, is finely described by Mr. Addison:

Honour's a sacred tie, the law of kings;
The noble mind's distinguishing perfection,
That aids and strengthens virtue, where it meets her,
And imitates her actions where she is not.
'Tis not to be sported with.

From the man who does sport with it, who despises fame, and has great talents, without one virtue, what can be expected?—Suspicion, cruelty, lust, and massacre.

Section

Section XXXIX.

(a) She who conspired against her husband, Drusus. This book, f. iii.

(b) The custom was begun by Julius Cæsar, and continued by Augustus. Suetonius, in Aug. f. 84.

(c) The daughter of Sejanus was to have been married to Drusus, the son of Claudius. Annals, iii. f. 29. This book, f. 7.

(d) Julia, the daughter of Augustus.

Section XL.

(a) Antonia was her mother, and Livia, the widow of Augustus, was her grandmother. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71.

(b) Proculeius is mentioned to his honour by Horace:

Vivet extento Proculeius ævo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni.

(c) Some of the commentators have been at great pains to unravel this mysterious passage. He, whose curiosity is excited by difficulty, and even sharpened by impossibility, may have the pleasure of toiling through an elaborate dissertation on this subject by La Bletterie. After all, the passage seems to be in the style which Tiberius loved and practised; dark and impenetrable. *Seu naturâ, sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba.* Annals, book i. f. 11. Perhaps he meant to associate Sejanus with himself in the tribunitian power.

Section XLII.

(a) Montanus was an eminent orator, but too copious, and often redundant. Not content with a thought happily expressed, he recurred to it again; and wanting to place it in a new light, he disfigured what was well said, and went on repeating and retouching the same thing, till he spoiled the whole. Scaurus called him the OVID of orators; observing, at the same time, that to know when to leave off is an essential part of oratory, not less than the choice of proper expression. *Habet hoc Montanus vitium: dum non est contentus unam rem semel bene dicere,*

cere, effecit ut ne bene dixerit. Propter hoc solebat Montanum Scaurus inter oratores Ovidium vocare. Aiebat Scaurus non minus magnam virtutem esse SCIRE DESINERE, quam scire dicere. Seneca, Controvers. iv. cap. 28. Montanus was also a poet. Ovid says of him, that he excelled in heroic metre, and the tender elegy :

Quippe vel imparibus numeris, Montane, vel æquis
Sufficis, et gemino carmine nomen habes.

(b) Eusebius, in his Chronicon, says, he was banished to the Balearic Islands, and there finished his days. *Votienus Montanus, Narbonensis orator, in Balearibus insulis moritur, illuc a Tiberio relegatus.*

(c) There were two modes of expulsion from the city of Rome. One was *relegatio*; the other *exilium*. The former was a mere order of removal to a certain distance; but the person so punished did not forfeit his property, nor the freedom of the city. Banishment took away every right. Tiberius chose, on this occasion, to inflict the severest punishment.

(d) The *Album Senatorium* was a register of the senators published every year, according to a regulation of Augustus.

Section XLIII.

(a) Brotier says, as far as can be collected from Pausanias, this temple was not far from the place now called *Zarnata*, near the Gulf of *Coron* in the *Morea*.

(b) Antigonus, king of Macedonia, died in the 4th year of the 139th Olympiad, A. U. C. 533.

(c) Lucius Mummius, conqueror of Corinth, A. U. C. 608.

(d) When Greece was reduced to subjection, the Romans gave to the whole country the general name of *Achaia*.

(e) A town in Sicily, now *Castel a Mare*, in the vale of *Mazara*. The temple of *Venus Erycina* was afterwards rebuilt by Claudius. Suetonius, Life of Claudius.

(f) Publius Rutilius is called by Velleius Paterculus, the best man, not only of his own time, but of any age whatever. He was banished, to the great grief of the city of Rome. *Publium Rutilium, virum non seculi*

seculi sui, sed omnis ævi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum, maximo cum gemitu civitatis damnaverant. Vell. Patere. lib. ii. f. 13. See Seneca, epist. lxxix.

Section XLIV.

(a) Lentulus was consul A. U. C. 740. For his victories over the Gætulians in Africa, he obtained triumphal ornaments. See Velleius Paternus, lib. ii. f. 116. He was sent with Drusus into Pannonia, Annals, i. f. 27.

(b) Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus. His son Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus married Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and by her was father of Nero. See the Genealogical Table, No. 33 and No. 34.

(c) See the Memoirs of the House of Brandebourg by the late King of Prussia. It is there said, but not on good authority, that the Romans never passed the *Elbe*.

(d) Julius Antonius, the father of Lucius, has been already mentioned, Annals, iii. f. 18. See the Genealogical Table, No. 29 and No. 30.

Section XLV.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section XLVII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

Section LII.

(a) Domitius Afer, an orator highly commended by Quintilian. See Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. xiii. note (d).

(b) Sofia, the wife of Silius : this book, f. xix and xx.

(c) Suetonius relates this, and says Tiberius never afterwards conversed with Agrippina. *Liberius quiddam quæstam, manu apprehendit, Græcoque versu, SI NON DOMINARIS, inquit, FILIOLA, INJURIAM TE ACCIPERE EXISTIMAS. Nec ullo post sermone dignatus est.* In Tib. f. 53.

(d) Quintilian has said the same thing of Domitius Afer ; see Dialogue concerning Eloquence, in the Supplement, f. 8, note (a). The
great

great critic advises all men of talents not to wait for the decays of age; but to found a retreat in time, and anchor safely in port, before the vessel is disabled. The consequence, he says, will be, that the man of genius will enjoy a state of tranquillity, removed from scenes of contention, out of the reach of calumny, and will have, while he is still alive, a foretaste of his posthumous fame. *Antequam in has ætatis veniat infidias, receptui canet, et in portum integrâ nave perveniet. Ac, cum jam secretus, liber invidiâ, procul a contentionibus, famam in tuto collocavit, sentiet vivus eam, quæ post fata præstari magis solet, venerationem, et quid apud posteros futurus sit videbit.* Quintilian, lib. xii. cap. 11.

Section LIII.

(a) She was the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. Pliny the elder commends her Memoirs, lib. vii. f. 8.

Section LIV.

(a) This is mentioned by Suetonius, in Tib. f. 53.

Section LV.

(a) The war with Perseus, king of Macedon, was A. U. C. 583. Aristonicus invaded Asia A. U. C. 623. From that time, that part of Asia was made a Roman province, and the vices of the east corrupted the Roman manners. *Asia Romanorum facta, cum opibus suis vitia quoque Romam transmisit.* Justin, lib. xxxvi. f. 4; Florus, lib. ii. f. 20.

(b) For these several people, see the Geographical Table.

(c) For Ilium, see the Geographical Table.

(d) For Halycarnassus, see the Geographical Table.

(e) Atys, the son of Hercules and Omphalè. Herodotus, lib. i.

Section LVI.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Cato, called the Cenfor, was consul A. U. C. 559.

(c) Carthage was destroyed by Scipio, A. U. C. 608.

Section LVII.

(a) Sejanus has been mentioned as the cause of the emperor's retreat. This book, f. 41.

(b) Suetonius, section 68, describes Tiberius large, robust, and of a stature above the usual size. Tacitus speaks of him when he was bent under the weight of years.

(c) Some physicians have been of opinion that this was the venereal disease; but it is certain, that Europe knew nothing of that disorder before the discovery of the New World. Fracastorius has written an elegant Latin poem on the subject.

(d) Suetonius says, there was a current report, that Livia, incensed by the haughty carriage of her son, produced the letters of Augustus, complaining of the pride and arrogance of Tiberius. The production of those papers, at such a distance of time, was thought to be his principal reason for leaving Rome. Suet. in Tib. f. 51.

Section LVIII.

(a) Cocceius Nerva ended his days by abstinence A. U. C. 786, to withdraw himself from the horror of the times. Annals, book vi. f. 26. Brotier says, he was thought to be father of the emperor Nerva.

(b) He was afterwards ruined by Sejanus. See book vi. f. 10; see Ovid De Ponto, lib. ii. eleg. iv and vii.

(c) These Greek attendants, and the cruelties inflicted upon them by Tiberius, are mentioned by Suetonius, f. 56; and see Annals, v. in the Supplement, f. 42. There were also in his train a number of Chaldæan astrologers, or mathematicians, as they chose to call themselves. Juvenal, sat. x. ver. 94.

Section LIX.

(a) This was in Campania, on the sea-coast, near *Terracina*. The villa, according to Brotier, is now called *Sperlonga*.

Section LX.

(a) Julia, the daughter of Drusus, son of Tiberius, by his wife Livia, or Livilla. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71 and 74.

Section

Section LXI.

(a) Asinius Agrippa, grandson to the famous Asinius Pollio, the friend of Augustus, was consul A. U. C. 778. See this book, f. 34.

(b) Haterius flourished in the time of Augustus. He was an eminent orator, but so copious and rapid, that the emperor compared him to a chariot that required a spoke in the wheels. *Haterius noster sufflammandus est.* Seneca, Controvers. lib. iv. in Præfatione. See also Seneca, epist. xl. Eusebius, in his Chronicon, says he lived to the age of ninety.

Section LXII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) Under the gloomy reign of Tiberius, the people lost their favourite amusements, and, therefore, ran in crowds to the theatre and other spectacles, whenever an opportunity offered.

Section LXIII.

(a) Suetonius says, twenty thousand; in Tib. f. 40.

Section LXIV.

(a) One of the seven hills of Rome.

(b) Suetonius mentions this conflagration; in Tib. f. 48.

Section LXV.

(a) The origin of the *Tuscan Street* is accounted for in a different manner by Livy, lib. ii. f. 14.

Section LXVI.

(a) The son of Quinctilius Varus, who perished with his three legions in Germany. See the Genealogical Table, No. 98. The prosecution of Claudia Pulchra has been mentioned, this book, f. 52.

Section LXVII.

(a) The isle of Caprea lies at a small distance from the promontory of *Surrentum* (now *Capo della Minerva*), and has the whole circuit of the bay of Naples in view. It is about four miles in length from east to

west, and about one in breadth. See Addison's Description in his Travels in Italy.

(b) For the barbarity, with which Tiberius treated all that landed on the island without permission, see Suetonius, in Tib. f. 60; and see Annals, v. in the Supplement, f. 41.

(c) The eruption of Vesuvius happened in the reign of Titus, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79. Pliny gives a description of it, lib. vi. epist. xvi and xx.

(d) Tiberius fortified and fitted up for his residence twelve villas on the island, and gave to each the name of one of the gods. Suetonius mentions the *Villa Jovis*, in Tib. f. 65.

Section LXVIII.

(a) Sabinus has been already mentioned as a person marked out for destruction by Sejanus. This book, f. xviii and xix.

Section LXX.

(a) The original shortly says, *trahatur damnatus*; but it is clear from the context, that he was hurried to execution. Dio says, he was dragged with a hook in his mouth to the *Gemoniæ* (the place where malefactors were exposed), and afterwards thrown into the Tiber. Pliny the elder relates a remarkable instance of the affection of Sabinus's dog. That faithful domestic followed his master to the prison, and afterwards, at the *Gemoniæ*, staid with the corpse, with pathetic cries and dismal howlings lamenting the loss. Food was offered to the dog; he took it, and held it to his master's mouth; and finally, when the body was thrown into the Tiber, that generous animal leaped into the water, and endeavoured to keep the remains of his master from sinking. *Cum animadverteretur, ex causâ Neronis Germanici filii, in Titium Sabinum et servitia ejus, canem nec a carcere abigi potuisse, nec a corpore recessisse in gradibus Gemoniis, edentem ululatus, magnâ populi Romani coronâ; ex quâ cum quidam ei cibum objecisset, ad os defuncti tulisse. Innatavit idem in Tiberim cadaver abjecti sustentare conatus, effusâ multitudine ad spectandum animalis fidem.* Pliny, lib. viii. f. 61.

Section LXXI.

(a) In what remains of Tacitus, we find the punishment of LATI-ARIS only. See Annals, vi. f. 4. The rest suffered under Caligula.

(b) Asinius Gallus married Vipfania Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa by Pomponia, the grand-daughter of Atticus, after she was divorced from Tiberius. Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was also the daughter of Agrippa by Julia, the daughter of Augustus; and being half-sister to the wife of Asinius Gallus, she was, of course, aunt to his children. See the Genealogical Table.

(c) She was guilty of adultery with Silanus. See book iii. f. 24.

(d) For Trimetus, see the Geographical Table.

Section LXXII.

(a) The Frisians inhabited along the sea-coast, between the Rhine and the Amisia (the Ems). See the Geographical Table; and the Manners of the Germans, f. xxxiv. and note (b).

(b) Drusus, the father of Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 79 and 81.

(c) Cæsar has described this species of cattle. The URI, he says, nearly equal the elephant in bulk, but in colour, shape, and kind, resemble the bull. They are of uncommon strength and swiftness, and spare neither man nor beast that comes in their way. See Duncan's Cæsar, book vi. f. 26. Cæsar, lib. vi. f. 28. Virgil has,

Sylvestres Uri assidue, capreæque sequaces.

GEORGICS, lib. ii.

(d) FLEVUM castle was on the borders of the river FLEVUS, but no vestige of it remains at present. The river is swallowed up by the great gulf, called Zuyder-zee. See the Geographical Table.

Section LXXIII.

(a) There were three different establishments of cavalry in the Roman armies: namely, the troops of horse belonging to each legion; the cavalry that formed a separate corps, as *Ala Petrina*, *Syllana*, *Scribonia*; and

and the cavalry of the allies, as *Ala Batavorum*, *Treuerorum*, &c. For the Caninefates, see the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Brotier calls it the largest forest in the territory of the *Frisians*, known at present by the name of SEVEN WOLDEN.

Section LXXV.

(*a*) Her father, Germanicus, being adopted by Tiberius, she, of course, was the emperor's grand-daughter. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. For her husband Domitius Ænobarbus, see the Table, No. 34. It was said of him, if he had not been the father of Nero, he would have been the worst man of the age.

N O T E S

ON THE

F I F T H B O O K

OF

T H E A N N A L S.

Section I.

(a) **T**ILLEMONT, in his History of the Emperors, fixes the passion of our Saviour in this year. Lactantius and many of the fathers are of the same opinion. The writers of modern date place that great event four years later, in the sixth of Tiberius, instead of xvth, and their calculation is now generally adopted. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 316, 4to edition. Tacitus, incidentally, mentions Jesus Christ, and his suffering under Pontius Pilate, Annals, xv. f. 44.

(b) Augustus by his last will adopted her into the Julian family, under the additional name of AUGUSTA. Annals, book i. f. 8. Tacitus, after that time, calls her JULIA, JULIA AUGUSTA, and frequently AUGUSTA only. For the sake of uniformity she is always called *Livia* in the translation, and once or twice *Empress Mother*, though it must be acknowledged that the appellation is premature. The Romans had no title to correspond with *Empress*, *Senatress*, &c. See an Essay on the Name of Augustus, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xix. 4to edition. Julia died, according to Pliny, lib. xiv. f. 6, at the age of eighty-two. Her father was of the Claudian family, and, being adopted into the house of Livius, took the name of Livius Drusus Claudianus. He fought on the side of liberty at the battle of Philippi, and, seeing the day lost, died by his own hand. For Livia, see the Genealogical Table, No. 66.

(c) He

(c) He was also, as well as his wife, of the Claudian family. He appeared in arms against Octavius (afterwards Augustus), on the side of Lucius Antonius, whom he considered as the last assertor of public liberty. Antonius was besieged at *Perusia* by Augustus, A. U. C. 714, and, after holding out till the garrison was reduced by famine, was obliged to capitulate. Tiberius Nero endeavoured to collect the scattered remains of the republican party; but, his efforts proving fruitless, he was obliged to fly to Sextus Pompeius, then in possession of Sicily. His wife Livia attended him in his flight, being at that time big with child; and bearing in her arms her infant son Tiberius, who was about two years old. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. f. 75. The father afterwards made his peace with Augustus, and returned to Rome A. U. C. 716; and his wife Livia, yielding to the emperor's embraces, sealed his pardon. Livia was then six months with child. Augustus, before he married her, was obliged to obtain a dispensation from the Pontifical College. In three months afterwards Livia was delivered of her second son, Drusus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 79. Caligula, afterwards emperor, and great-grandson of Livia, used to say of her, that she was another Ulysses in petticoats. *Liviam Augustam, proaviam suam, identidem ULYSSEM STOLATUM appellans.* Suetonius, in Calig. f. 23.

(d) Germanicus, the son of Drusus, was grandson to Livia; and Agrippina, his wife, was grand-daughter to Augustus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 81 and No. 51.

(e) Tiberius, from the day of his accession to the imperial dignity, considered his mother as a woman of a politic and artificial character, proud, fierce, and overbearing; in appearance, plotting to aggrandize her son; in secret, wishing for nothing so much as to gratify her own ambition. She lived three years after Tiberius retired to the isle of Caprea, and, during that time, never had more than one short interview. In her last illness Tiberius did not condescend to visit her. He signified an inclination to attend the funeral ceremony; but he promised only to deceive, and delayed so long, that the body was in a state of putrefaction before it was committed to the flames. Suet. in Tib. f. 51.

Section

Section II.

(a) The apotheosis of Livia is still to be seen on ancient medals; but we learn from Suetonius, that divine honours were granted by the emperor Claudius, and the medals were most probably struck during his reign. See Suet. in Claud. f. xi.

Section III.

(a) Cotta Messalinus was the son of Messala Corvinus, the famous orator, who was highly commended by Quintilian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, f. xii. note (e). The son inherited a portion of his father's eloquence, but none of his virtues. He is again mentioned by Tacitus as the promoter of oppression and cruelty. Annals, book vi. f. 5. He is recorded by Pliny the elder as a voluptuous epicure, and a great proficient in the art of cookery. He invented a new *ragout*, composed of the feet of geese and the combs of cocks. I relate this fact, says Pliny, to the end, that the men, who profess to study the pleasures of the table, may enjoy all the praise due to their kitchens. *Tribuetur enim a me culinis cujusque palma cum fide.* Pliny, lib. x. f. 22. Some of Ovid's Epistles, written in his exile, are addressed to Messalina.

Section IV.

(a) Suetonius assures us, that Julius Cæsar ordered the acts of the senate, as well as of the people, to be daily committed to writing, and published, which had never been done before his time. See in Jul. Cæs. f. 20. Augustus, a more timid, and, by consequence, a darker politician, ordered the proceedings of the senate to be kept secret. Suet. in Aug. f. 36. Tiberius followed the same rule, but, as it seems, had the caution to appoint a senator to execute the office. Dio says, that he also directed what should be inserted or omitted. These records were, in the modern phrase, the JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE. In the early period of the commonwealth, before the use of letters was generally known, the years were registered by a number of nails driven into the gate of the temple of Jupiter. Livy, lib. vii. f. 3. But even in that rude age, the chief pontiff committed to writing the transactions of each year, and kept the record at his house, for the inspection

of the people. *Pontifex maximus res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis, efferebatque in Album, et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi.* Cicero, *De Orat.* lib. ii. f. 12. This mode of keeping the records continued in use till the death of Mucius Scævola, A. U. C. 672. After that time, the motions in the senate, the debates, and resolutions of the fathers, occasioned a multiplicity of business, and, of course, the ancient simple form was found insufficient. Under the emperors, four different records grew into use: namely, the acts of the prince; secondly, the proceedings of the senate; thirdly, the public transactions of the people; and fourthly, the games, spectacles, births, marriages, deaths, and daily occurrences of the city, called the *DIURNA*. The last were sent into the provinces, and were there received as the *ROMAN GAZETTE*.

S U P P L E M E N T (a).

TO the great loss of the literary world, the evil fate that attended the works of Tacitus, is felt in this place, at a point of time when an important scene is to be opened; a scene in which Tiberius and Sejanus were the chief actors, each with the darkest policy contriving the other's ruin. The art of gradually unfolding the characters of men, in a course of action, was the talent of Tacitus, beyond any historian of antiquity; but the rest of the transactions of the present year of Rome 782, all ~~the~~ 783, and the greatest part of 784, have perished in the confusion of barbarous times. It is to be lamented, that Sejanus has been snatched away from Tacitus, that is, from the hand of justice. The chasm can never be filled up: for what modern writer can hope to rival the energy of Tacitus? All that remains, is to collect the facts from the most authentic historians, and relate them here in a continued series, rather than give the reader the trouble of finding them where they lie scattered in various authors.

Section 2.

- (a) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 51.
 (b) The name of this Roman knight is not mentioned by Suetonius, who relates the fact, in Tib. f. 51.
 (c) Seneca gives a picture of this dreadful period. *Excipiebatur ebrorum sermo; simplicitas jocantium. Nihil erat tutum: omnis sæviendi placebat occasio; nec jam reorum expectabatur eventus, cum esset unus. De Beneficiis, lib. iii. cap. 26.*

Section 3.

- (a) For this profound tranquillity in all parts of the Roman empire, see Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. f. 126.

Section 4.

- (a) The consuls for the year 783 were high in favour with Tiberius, and, accordingly, were afterwards married to two daughters of Germanicus; Drusilla, to Cassius Longinus; Julia, to Vinicius. See book vi. f. 15. See also the Genealogical Table, No. 95, 97, and 99.
 (b) Tiberius had been, at this time, above three years in his recess at the isle of Caprea, indulging himself in every vice, and planning deeds of cruelty and horror; and yet Velleius asks Vinicius the consul, to whom he dedicates his work, what Tiberius had done to merit the worst agony of mind, and to be made miserable by his daughter-in-law and his grandson? *Quantis hoc triennium, M. Vinici, doloribus laceravit animum ejus? Quamdiu abstruso, quod miserrimum est, pectus ejus flagravat incendio, quod ex nuru, quod ex nepote dolere, indignari, erubescere coactus est?* Lib. ii. f. 130.

Section 5.

- (a) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 64.
 (b) For Herculaneum, see the Geographical Table. Seneca says, Caligula razed the castle to the ground, that no vestige might remain of the place, where his mother suffered so much barbarity. *De Irâ, lib. iii. f. 32.*
 (c) This fact is related by Suetonius, in Tib. f. 53.
 (d) Suetonius,

- (d) Suetonius, f. 53.
 (e) For instances of this savage cruelty, see in this Supplement, f. 41.
 (f) See the account of Agrippina's death, book vi. f. 25.
 (g) For Pontia, see the Geographical Table. Nero was put to death in that island by order of Tiberius. Suet. f. 54.

Section 6.

- (a) This was Otho, afterwards emperor. Suetonius says, he had a daughter, whom he contracted to Drusus, son of Germanicus, before she was of age to marry. Life of Otho, f. 1.
 (b) For her flagitious life, and an account of her death, see book vi. f. 40. See the Genealogical Table, No. 84.

Section 7.

- (a) Dio says that the consul became the agent of Sejanus.
 (b) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 54.
 (c) See book vi. f. 23 and 24.

Section 8.

- (a) Suetonius says, it was more by cunning and sly management, than by his imperial authority, that he was able to cut off Sejanus. In Tib. f. 65.
 (b) These Memoirs were extant in Tacitus's time. Suetonius (in Tib. f. 61) refers to them for the fact here asserted; and in the Life of Domitian, that emperor, he says, laid aside the study of the liberal sciences, and read nothing but the commentaries of Tiberius. In Domit. f. 20. The Memoirs written by Tiberius were, probably, the Manual of Tyranny.

Section 9.

- (a) After all that Tacitus has hitherto disclosed of the character of Tiberius, one cannot read, without astonishment, the flattering account given by Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. f. 126 and 127) of the justice, equity, moderation, and every virtue, which, according to that sycophant historian, distinguished the reign of Tiberius. The picture of a politic, dark, and cruel tyrant is drawn in gracious colours. Pliny's Panegyric of Trajan is not more highly finished.

Section

Section 10.

(a) The veneration paid to Sejanus is described at length by Dio, lib. lviii.

Section 11.

(a) This writer's work is dignified with the title of a Roman History; but it is well observed by Lipsius and Vossius, that it deserves no such title, being, in truth, nothing more than a collection of the principal events, that happened in the world, from the Trojan war down to the xvith of Tiberius, A. U. C. 783. It is not, says Lipsius, a compendium, or abridgment of history, though it must be allowed that the narrative proceeds in chronological order. It contains an account of eminent men, and characters well delineated; but the whole of the first book is a miscellaneous review of ancient times and foreign nations. The second book is a narrative of Roman affairs, written with ease and elegance, but, when it treats of the Cæsars, in a style of adulation. In the conclusion, the historian composes a fervent prayer, which must astonish all who are conversant in the history of Tiberius. He throws himself on his knees, and invokes the protection of Jupiter, Mars, and all the gods, to prolong the valuable life of Tiberius, and late, very late, to give to the Roman people a line of princes worthy of the succession to so great a prince. *Custodite, servate, protegite hunc statum, hanc pacem; eique sunctio longissimâ statione mortali destinate successores quam seriffimos, &c.* See Vell. Patercul. in the conclusion.

Section 12.

(a) Asinius Gallus, son of the famous Asinius Pollio, has been already mentioned, Annals, book i. f. 12.

Section 13.

(a) For more of Gætulicus, see book vi. f. 30.

Section 14.

(a) Crevier, in his History of the Roman Emperors, says, Asinius was deputed on some business, which cannot now be known; but the fact, as here stated, is confirmed by Dio, lib. 58.

(b) Syriacus

(b) Syriacus is mentioned by Seneca as an elegant orator, *multa diserte dixit*. See *Controversiæ*, lib. ii. f. 9.

Section 15.

(a) This match was proposed by Sejanus, book iv. f. 39, and rejected by Tiberius, f. 40. That he afterwards consented to give Livia in marriage to Sejanus, see book vi. f. 8, where Sejanus is expressly called, the son-in-law of the emperor.

Section 18.

(a) In this situation of things, Dio says, Sejanus was emperor of Rome; and Tiberius, the lord of an island.

Section 19.

(a) L. Piso was præfect of the city, and, in that office, discharged his duty with great skill, and equal integrity. Velleius Paterculus says, no man was more fond of indolence, and yet no man transacted business with such ability. *Vix quemquam reperiri posse, qui aut otium validius diligat, aut facilius sufficiat negotio*. Lib. ii. f. 98. Seneca tells us, that he was always drunk, and never out of bed before ten in the forenoon; and yet he contrived to execute his commission with uncommon diligence. He was the confidential magistrate of Augustus; and Tiberius, when he retreated into Campania, trusted all his most secret directions to the care of Piso. *Lucius Piso, urbis custos, ebrius, ex quo semel factus fuit. Majorem partem noctis in convivio exigebat; usque in horam sextam fere dormiebat. Officium tamen suum, quo tutela urbis continebatur, diligentissime administravit. Huic Divus Augustus dedit secreta mandata, et Tiberius, proficiscens in Campaniam, cum multa in urbe et suspecta relinqueret, et invisa*. Seneca, epist. 83. For an account of Piso's death, at four-score years of age, see *Annals*, book vi. f. 10.

Section 20.

(a) The fate of this eminent man, and Prisca his wife, is related by Dio, lib. 58.

Section 21.

(a) This decree of the senate is mentioned by Dio, lib. lviii.

Section

Section 23.

(a) During the time of the republic, the consular office lasted for the year. The emperors changed this rule. In order to gratify the ambition of their favourites, they appointed a new succession at different times in the year; but the names of such consuls do not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*.

Section 24.

(a) See Suetonius, in Calig. f. 10.

(b) Suetonius has recorded what Antonia, the mother of Claudius, said of her son. *Mater Antonia portentum eum hominis dictabat; nec absolutum a naturâ, sed tantum inchoatum; ac si quem socordiae argueret, stultio rem aiebat filio suo Claudio.* Sueton. in Claud. f. 3.

Section 25.

(a) See Dio, book lviii.

Section 26.

(a) The particulars of this plot, and the detection of it by Antonia (for whom see the Genealogical Table, No. 32), are related by Josephus.

Section 27.

(a) Satrius Secundus was the accuser of Cremutius Cordus. Annals, iv. f. 34. Seneca, speaking of that transaction, De Consolatione ad Marciam, says, Sejanus, meaning to enrich his creatures, gave Cordus, her father, as a *largess* to Satrius Secundus. *Sejanus patrem tuum clienti suo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit.* See Annals, book vi. f. 47, where Satrius is mentioned as the informer against Sejanus.

(b) Josephus, who was well informed in every thing that related to Tiberius, confirms what is here said. According to him, Antonia employed Cænis, who was afterwards the favourite mistress of Vespasian, to write the letters to Tiberius; and Pallas, who became minister of state under Claudius, carried the dispatches to the isle of Caprea.

Section 28.

(a) See Suetonius, in Tib. f. 65.

(b) Sueton.

(b) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 65.

Section 29.

(a) The particulars of the fall of Sejanus, and the conduct of Macro, the principal actor in that business, are related at large by Dio, lib. lviii.

Section 31.

(a) The letter is nowhere set forth, but the substance is reported by Dio. Juvenal says, no direct charge was exhibited against Sejanus; no facts were stated; no witness was produced. A pompous letter arrived from Caprea, and that was sufficient:

Sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
Delator? quibus indiciis? quo teste probavit?
Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit
A Capreis.— JUVENAL, sat. x. ver. 69.

(b) The names of these two senators are nowhere mentioned.

Section 33.

(a) The behaviour of the populace is well described by Juvenal:

Descendunt statuæ, restemque sequuntur.
Ipfas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
Cædit, et immeritis franguntur crura caballis.
Jam stridunt ignes; jam follibus atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens
Sejanus: deinde ex facie toto orbe secundâ
Fiunt urceoli, pelves, fartago, patellæ.

Sat. x. ver. 53.

(b) Seneca differs from this account. He says, Sejanus was torn in pieces by the populace, and nothing remained for the executioner to throw into the river.

Section 34.

(a) Juvenal has described the humours of the mob: they saw Sejanus ruined, and they hated him. If fortune had favoured his cause,
they

they would have been ready to hail their new emperor with acclamations of joy.

————— Sed quid
Turba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
Damnatos: idem populus, si Nurscia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis, hac ipsâ Sejanum diceret horâ
Augustum.———— SAT. x. ver. 72.

Section 35.

(a) Dio gives an account of the honours voted on this occasion.

Section 36.

(a) The twelve villas, which Tiberius occupied in the isle of Caprea, have been already mentioned, book iv. f. 67.

Section 37.

(a) Sejanus had repudiated his wife some time before. See book iv. f. 3; and see *ibidem*, f. 11.

Section 38.

(a) For Eudemus and Lygdus, see book iv. f. 11.
(b) Dio relates the fact. For Antonia, see this Supplement, f. 27; and see the Genealogical Table, No. 32.

Section 39.

(a) The name of the preceptor was Theodorus of Gadara. Suetonius, in Tib. f. 57.

(b) The man, who, amidst the misfortunes of his family, *wanted the natural touch*, might reason in this manner; but Priam thought otherwise. It was said of him, that all he gained by a long life, was, that he wept oftener than his son Troilus. The sentiment of Tiberius is reported by Suetonius, in Tib. f. 62.

(c) Suetonius, in Calig. f. 11.

Section 40.

(a) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 62.

(b) Machiavel has not been able to devise a plan of more profound and barbarous policy. By consulting their opinion, he made them believe that his friendship was sincere, because it was interest; by keeping near his person, he cut them off at his will and pleasure; and by setting them at variance among themselves, he made them the authors of their own destruction. See Suetonius, in Tib. f. 55.

Section 41.

(a) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 62.

(b) The story is told by Suetonius, in Tib. f. 57.

(c) Suetonius, f. 60.

(d) Suetonius, f. 61.

Section 42.

(a) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 56.

(b) Suetonius, *ibidem*.

(c) This account of malleable glass, and the fate of the manufacturer, are told by Dio, lib. lvii. Pliny relates the same story, but seems to doubt the truth of it. Lib. xxxvi. f. 26. Petronius, whose romance, called SATYRICON, is a disguised and pleasant satire on the private life of Claudius and Nero, has put the history of this transaction into the mouth of *Trimalcion*, a ridiculous character, who seems to be introduced to enliven the narrative, and divert the reader by his blunders. “Do not,” says Trimalcion, “take me for an IGNORAMUS; “I know the origin of the Corinthian metal. At the sacking of Troy, “Hannibal, that sly freebooter, having gathered into a heap all the “gold and silver statues, with the *bronze* and other rarities, caused “them to be melted down into one enormous mass, which was afterwards shivered to fragments, and by the artists converted into dishes, “plates, and statues. That is your Corinthian metal; neither this, “nor that; but a mixture of all.” After this pleasantry, we have the anecdote of Tiberius and the glass-manufacturer, which, whether true or false, is told with an air of ridicule, and, consequently, brought into disrepute.

Section

Section VI.

(a) The Supplement being brought to the point, where it connects with the original, Tacitus goes on from this place to the end of the book. The reader will observe, that he stopped at the end of section v. The intermediate sections are marked with figures, instead of the Roman numeral letters. It is to be regretted, that the name of the person, who speaks in the present section with such dignity of sentiment, cannot be traced in any historian of that age. The character of the man subsists, and will always claim respect. It is true, that this excellent man destroyed himself; but suicide, at that time, was the only relief from cruelty and oppression. See what Tacitus says on this subject, *Annals*, vi. f. 29.

Section VIII.

(a) P. Vitellius was the faithful companion of Germanicus in Germany and Asia. He afterwards prosecuted Piso for the murder of his friend; *Annals*, iii. f. 10 and 13. Suetonius relates, that he was seized among the accomplices of Sejanus; and being delivered to the custody of his brother, he opened his veins, but, by the persuasion of his friends, suffered the wound to be bound up. He died soon after of a broken heart. Sueton. in *Vitellio*, f. 2. He was uncle to Vitellius, the emperor. See *Velleius Paterculus*, lib. ii. Pomponius Secundus was of consular rank. Quintilian praises his dramatic genius. See the *Dialogue concerning Oratory*, f. xiii. note (c).

Section IX.

(a) The original calls it the triumviral punishment, because (as appears in the *Digest* i. tit. ii. f. 30) it was the duty of the triumvir to see execution done on such as were condemned to die. The men, who felt no compassion for an innocent child, thought it right to be scrupulous about forms, in order to commit a legal murder. Suetonius relates the fact as stated by Tacitus. In *Tib.* f. 61.

Section X.

(a) Dio says, that the impostor was taken, and sent a prisoner to
 3 X 2 Tiberius.

Tiberius. But Dio is at times either too credulous, or too much pleased with his own invention.

Section XI.

(a) Trio has been mentioned, Annals, ii. f. 28, as a practised informer, a man of dangerous talents, and an infamous character. *Celebre inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat, avidumque famæ malæ.*

N O T E S

ON THE

SIXTH BOOK

OF

T H E A N N A L S.

Section I.

(a) **D**OMITIUS, commonly called Domitius Ænobarbus, is the person whom we have seen married to Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus. Annals, book iv. f. 75. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. Suetonius draws his character in the blackest colours; and adds, that he was so sensible of his own depravity, as to say, when he was told of Nero's birth, "Nothing can spring from Agrippina and myself but a monster of vice, and a scourge of human kind." When Tiberius died, he was confined in prison, charged, among other crimes, with an incestuous commerce with Lepida, his sister. He was saved by the change of the times, and not long after died of a dropsy at the town of Pyrgi. Suetonius in Nero, f. 5 and 6. The other consul, Camillus Scribonianus, is the same who ten years after, in the reign of Claudius, was proclaimed emperor by the legions in Dalmatia, and in a few days murdered by the soldiers.

(b) Suetonius explains the word SPINTRIÆ, and adds, that there were cells in woods and groves, furnished with lascivious pictures and statues, whence the word *Sellarii*. In Tib. f. 43.

Section II.

(a) This is Livia, who conspired with Sejanus against the life of Drusus,

Drusus, her husband; and suffered for that crime in the manner already mentioned. See book v. in the Supplement, f. 38.

(b) It will not be amiss to repeat, that *Ærarium* was the public treasury, and *Fiscus* the private treasury of the prince.

(c) Suetonius, in Tib. f. 65.

(d) If Tiberius had seriously intended to enter the senate-house, he was a better politician than to be the dupe of a plan proposed by Trogonius Gallus. None were admitted into the senate but the fathers, and those to whom they occasionally gave audience, or who were cited to their bar. If Tiberius was in fear of the senators, he knew better than to put arms in their hands. He would have desired to enter that assembly with a picked number of the prætorian guards.

Section III.

(a) Junius Gallio was the brother of Seneca. See Annals, xv. f. 73.

(b) Roscius Otho, tribune of the people, was the author of a law, called *Lex Roscia*, A. U. C. 685; by which fourteen rows in the theatre, next to the patrician order, were assigned to the Roman knights, with an express provision, that no freedman, nor even the son of a freedman, should be admitted into the equestrian order. Horace describes a man, who was grown suddenly rich, taking his seat in those rows of the theatre, in contempt of Otho and his law.

Sedibusque magnus in primis eques,

Othone contempto, sedet.

Epod. iv.

In the time of Augustus this law was falling into disuse; but the subsequent emperors, in order to give a distinguished preference to the freedmen, whom they enriched, revived the *LEX ROSCIA* in all its force. Hence Juvenal says, Let the man who is not worth the sum by law required, rise from the equestrian cushion, and make room for pimps and the sons of pimps.

——— Exeat, inquit,

Si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,

Cujus

Cujus res legi non sufficit, et fideant hic
Lenonum pueri quocumque in fornice nati.

SAT. iii. ver. 153.

Section IV.

(a) See book v. f. 71.

(b) For the end of Fulcinius Trio, see this book, f. 38.

Section V.

(a) Caius Cæsar, more known by the name of Caligula. Brotier's edition has *C. Cæsarem*, and some have *Caïam Cæsarem*. The last reading is adopted in this translation. Caligula was guilty of incest with his sister, Drusilla, whilst he was under age. Suetonius, in Calig. f. 24.

(b) The original says, *novemdiale mænus*, because the grief of the Romans for the loss of a friend lasted nine days, and then concluded with a solemn feast in honour of the dead. Cotta's meaning was, that celebrating the birth-day of an old woman ready to sink into her grave, was nothing different from a *novem-dial*, or mourning-festival. In the fragments of Cyrus, there is a fine verse, importing, that when an old woman laughs, death grins a ghastly smile. *Anus cum ridet, morti delicias facit.*

Section VI.

(a) Suetonius has the same letter in the very words here reported. In Tib. f. 67.

(b) Socrates, here properly called the Oracle of Ancient Wisdom, says, in Plato's Republic, "A tyrant is the worst of slaves. Were his heart and inward sentiments laid open to our view, we should see him stretched on the torture of the mind, distracted by his fears, and goaded by the pangs of guilt." Tacitus had his eye on this passage. Possessed of the supreme power, Tiberius lives in misery. His grief is heard from the solitude, and the rocks of Caprea. His case was like that of Œdipus, as described by Statius, in a fine picturesque line: *Sæva dies animi, scelerumque in pectore diræ.*

Section VII.

(a) Seneca relates a curious attempt by an informer at a convivial meeting; One of the guests wore the image of Tiberius on his ring.

His

His slave, seeing his master intoxicated, took the ring off his finger. The informer, in some time after, insisted that the owner, to mark his contempt of Tiberius, was sitting upon the figure of the emperor. For this offence he drew up an accusation, and was getting it attested by subscribing witnesses, when the slave shewed to the whole company that he had the ring in his hand all the time. Seneca asks, Was the servant a slave? and was the informer a bottle-companion? *Si quis hunc servum vocat, et illum convivam vocabit.* De Beneficiis, lib. iii. cap. 26.

Section X.

(a) The passage in which L. Piso was mentioned by Tacitus, is lost with other parts of the fifth book. See the Supplement, f. 19, and note (a).

Section XI.

(a) He is mentioned by Livy in the character of præfect of the city. Imperium in urbe Lucretio, præfecto urbis jam ante ab rege instituto, reliquit. Lib. i. f. 59.

Section XII.

(a) The history of the Sibylline Books, as much of it at least as can be condensed into a note, is as follows: A woman, supposed to be the Cumæan Sibyl, presented to Tarquin the Proud three books, of which, according to the account of Pliny the elder, lib. xiii. cap. 13, three were burned by her own direction. Other authors, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, lib. iv. cap. 62; and Aulus Gellius, lib. i. cap. 19, mention nine books, six of which, they say, were committed to the flames, and three preserved with care. Whatever the number was, it perished in the conflagration that destroyed the Capitol, not during the social war, as said by mistake in the original, but in the civil war between Marius and Sylla, A. U. C. 671. Those books had been always considered as a sacred deposit, containing prophetic accounts of the grandeur of Rome, and the certain means of propitiating the gods in the day of distress, or when portents and prodigies gave notice of some impending calamity. Tarquin committed this invaluable treasure to the care of two officers appointed for the purpose. The
number,

number, A. U. C. 387, was increased to ten. After the fire of the capitol, when the political and religious oracle of the state was lost, the senate ordered diligent search to be made in Italy, Asia, and Africa, for all kinds of Sibylline verses, and that compilation was given in charge to fifteen officers, called *QUINDECIMVIRI*. They, and they only, were to have access to those mysterious books, that contained the fame and fate of the Romans; *famamque et fata nepotum*: but even they were not allowed to inspect the predictions without the special orders of the senate. As long as the pagan superstition lasted, the Sibylline books continued to be the political creed of the emperor. In the reign of Honorius, Stilico, the ambitious minister, and pretended convert to Christianity, ordered all the Sibylline books to be burnt. Paganism groaned and expired. It appeared that there had been in various places a great number of Sibylline women, whose verses were obtruded on the world by a pious fraud; but the Cumæan Sibyl, so called from *Cumæ*, a town on the coast of Campania, was the only genuine prophetess. It is well known that Virgil, not understanding what was foretold of the birth of Christ, applied the whole prediction to another purpose in his fourth eclogue, called the *POLLIO*. The name of Sibyl was compounded of *σῖος*, æolicâ voce, pro *Θεός*, *Deus*, and *βελη*, *consilium*. See the Delphin Virgil, lib. vi. v. 36; and see the fine description of the Sibyl in her prophetic ecstasy, v. 46.

(b) The senate had two ways of coming to a resolution: if there was no debate, the house decided; *per discessionem*. When there was an opposition, the fathers were called upon *seriatim* for their opinions. See Aulus Gellius, lib. xiv. cap. 7.

(c) See to the same effect Suetonius, in Aug. l. 31.

Section XV.

As Germanicus was adopted by Tiberius, Annals i. l. 3, his daughters were, consequently, the grandchildren of Tiberius.

Section XVI.

(a) The grievances of the people, labouring under the oppression of their creditors, occur so often in Livy, that it is needless to cite particu-

lar instances. The law of Julius Cæsar, mentioned in this passage, is explained by Suetonius. It was expected, he says, that all debts should be cancelled; but Cæsar ordered, that all debtors should satisfy their creditors, according to a fair estimate of their estates, and the rates at which they were purchased before the commencement of the civil wars; deducting from the principal the interest that had been paid; and by those means about a fourth part of the debt was sunk. Suetonius, in *Jul. Cæs. l. 42.* See also *Cæsar de Bell. Civ. iii. l. 1.* The late Sir William Blackstone says, Many good and learned men perplexed themselves, and other people, by raising questions about the reward for the use of money, and by expressing their doubts about the legality of it *in foro conscientiae*. A compensation for the loan of money is generally called *interest*, by those who think it lawful; and *usury*, by those who think otherwise; for the enemies to *interest* in general make no distinction between that and *usury*, holding any increase of money to be indefensibly usurious. The arguments in support of that opinion are refuted by Sir William Blackstone, who proves that the taking of a moderate reward for the use of money, is not only, not *malum in se*, but highly useful to society. See his *Commentaries*, vol. ii. p. 454 to 457. Brotier states the different rates of interest known at Rome, at different times. Some of them were usurious on account of their excess, as may be seen in the following Table:

Fenus	{	Semiunciarium,	-	<i>Half per Cent.</i>
		Unciarium,	-	<i>One per Cent.</i>
Usura	{	Quadrans,	- -	<i>Three per Cent.</i>
		Triens,	- -	<i>Four per Cent.</i>
		Quincunx,	- -	<i>Five per Cent.</i>
		Semis,	- -	<i>Six per Cent.</i>
		Bes,	- -	<i>Eight per Cent.</i>
		Deunx,	- -	<i>Eleven per Cent.</i>
		Centesima,	- -	<i>Twelve per Cent.</i>
		Centesima Quaterna,		<i>Forty-eight per Cent.</i>
		Anatocismus,	- -	<i>Interest upon Interest.</i>

When the sum for the use of money is excessive, or what is now deemed
usurious,

usurious, Tacitus calls it *versura*; and so the word is used by Cicero. *Salaminii cum Romæ VERSURAM facere vel'ent, non poterant; quod lex Gabinia vetabat.* Ad Atticum, lib. v. epist. 21. See an Essay on the subject of Roman Usury, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxviii. See also Montesquieu, Spirit of Laws, book xxii. chap. 22.

Section XX.

(a) See the Genealogical Table, No. 87.

Section XXII.

(a) This whole passage about Fate and Chance shews, after all the philosophy of Plato and Cicero, that nothing but Revelation could disperse the mist, in which the best understandings were involved. The reasoning of Tacitus calls to mind the passage in Milton:

Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,
In thought more elevate, and reason'd high
Of providence, fore-knowledge, will, and fate,
Fate fix'd, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.

Section XXIII.

(a) Asinius Gallus was thrown into prison three years before. See book v. Supplement, f. 14.

(b) Drusus, the son of Germanicus: Genealogical Table, No. 83. See an Account of his imprisonment in the lower part of the palace, book v. Supplement, f. 7.

Section XXV.

(a) See Annals, book v. Supplement, f. 5.

Section XXVI.

(a) Cocceius Nervas has been mentioned, book iv. f. 58.

Section XXVII.

(a) Julia, the daughter of Drusus and Livia, and grand-daughter to Tiberius. Genealogical Table, No. 74.

(b) The name of this person was Cossus Ælius Lamia. He united in his character many excellent qualities, but was addicted to liquor, as we learn from Seneca, who says, that Tiberius having experienced the good effects of Piso's administration, which succeeded notwithstanding his love of liquor, see book v. Supplement, f. 19, and note (a), appointed Cossus to the office of præfect of the city; a man of wisdom and moderation, but fond of wine, and apt to drink deep. *Cossus fecit urbis præfectum, virum gravem, moderatum, sed mersum vino et madentem; puto quia bene cesserat Pisonis ebrietas.* Seneca, epist. 83. He obtained the province of Syria, but was not suffered to proceed to his government. This, we are told by Tacitus, was a state of suspense habitual to Tiberius. See book i. f. 80, where we are also told why the detention of Lamia added to his dignity. Tiberius was afraid of eminent virtue: *Ex optimis periculum.*

(c) Pomponius Flaccus was another of Tiberius's bottle-companions. Suetonius says, that the name of the emperor being, *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, he was nicknamed BIBERIUS CALDIUS MERO; and after he came to the empire, he passed a whole night and two days in a carousing party with Lucius Piso and Pomponius Flaccus. Sueton. in Tiberio, f. 42.

(d) Manius Lepidus has been mentioned, book i. f. 13; book iv. f. 20.

Section XXVIII.

(a) Lucius Vitellius, the new consul, was the father of Vitellius, who was afterwards emperor. See more of him, f. xxxii.

(b) The accounts given by the ancients of this wonderful bird, if collected together, would swell into a volume. Tacitus was aware of the decorations of fable; but of the real existence of such a bird, and its periodical appearance in Egypt, he entertained no kind of doubt. It has been objected by some critics, that he breaks the thread of his narrative for the sake of a trifling digression: but it should be remembered, that what is now known to be a fable, was formerly received as a certain truth. It was, therefore, in the time of Tacitus, an interesting description, and even now curiosity is gratified with the particulars of so celebrated a fiction. La Bletterie observes, that, since the Christian æra, many learned and

pious writers have been carried away by the torrent, and embraced the popular opinion. He says, the word φοῖνῖξ signifying *palma*, the palm tree, as well as the bird in question, Tertullian was so ingenious as to find the phenix mentioned in scripture. The Latin translators have said, *Iustus ut palma florebit*; he translates it, *Iustus ut phenix florebit*. Pliny the naturalist seems to dwell with pleasure on the particulars of the birth, the age, the death, and revival of this wonderful bird. He says that a pretended phenix was brought to Rome from Ægypt, A. U. C. 800, and exhibited as a public spectacle in the Forum; but the people considered it as an imposition. *Quem falsum esse nemo dubitavit*. Pliny, lib. x. f. 2. Pomponius Mela has given an elegant description of the phenix. The substance of what he says, is, when it has lived five hundred years, it expires on its own nest, and, being regenerated, carries the bones of its former frame to Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, and there, on an altar, covered with Arabian spices, performs a fragrant funeral. Mela, lib. iii. f. 9. Mariana, the Spanish historian, who wrote in modern times, may be added to the Christian writers who have mentioned this bird with pious credulity. He considers the re-appearance of the phenix, towards the end of Tiberius, as a prognostic of the resurrection, because it revives out of its own ashes. See his History of Spain, lib. iv. cap. 1. See also Sir John Mandeville.

Section XXIX.

(a) Tacitus seems here to make the apology of suicide. It was fear of the executioner that hurried men on self-destruction. *Promptas ejusmodi mortes metus carnificis faciebat*. A second reason was, the accused, who died before sentence of condemnation by their own hands, saved their effects for their relations, and were allowed the rites of sepulture. The idea of being strangled, and thrown into the Tiber, was shocking to the imagination. It is remarkable, that a law against suicide was unknown to the Romans in every period of their history. The motives for embracing a voluntary death continued, as stated by Tacitus, till the reign of Antoninus. That emperor, A. U. C. 965, of the Christian æra 212, confiscated the effects of all who put an end to their lives, to avoid

avoid final judgment. In other respects, suicide was not restrained; it was rather countenanced. If no prosecution was commenced, the estate of the person, who in a fit of insanity destroyed himself, passed by his will, or descended to his heirs. So far was right; but the same rule was extended to those who were weary of life, and for that reason put an end to their days. *Dolore aliquo corporis, aut tædio vitæ.* See the Code, ix. tit. 50. *De bonis eorum qui mortem sibi consciverunt.* It was a maxim of the stoic school, that there was nothing better in human life, than the power of ending it. *Ex omnibus bonis, quæ homini tribuit natura, nullum melius esse tempestivâ morte; idque in eâ optimum, quod illum sibi quisque præstare poterit.* Pliny, lib. xxviii. f. 1. The impious tenets of a dogmatical sect were able to silence the law of nature. Socrates was of a different opinion: that best of philosophers says, in the Phædo of Plato, that we all are placed by Providence in our proper stations, and no man has a right to desert his post. Aristotle calls suicide the act of a timid, not of a noble mind. It was the maxim of Pythagoras, that, without leave from the commander in chief, that is from God, it is unlawful to quit our post; and Cicero, who records that excellent doctrine (*De Senectute*) says, in another place, that it is the duty of the good and pious, to keep the soul in its tenement of clay; and, without the order of him who gave it, no one should rush out of this life, lest he incur the guilt of rejecting the gift of Providence. *Piis omnibus retinendus est animus in custodiâ corporis; nec injussu ejus, a quo ille est vobis datus, ex hominum vitâ migrandum est, ne munus humanum assignatum a Deo defugisse videamini.* Somnium Scipionis, f. vii. Since the law of nature, speaking in the human heart, was not attended to, no wonder that the voice of a few philosophers was not heard. The Pagans required the light of revelation.

(b) We have seen Mamercus Scaurus marked as a victim, this book, f. ix. Seneca says he was designed by nature for a great orator, but he fell short, owing to his own neglect. *Scire posses, non quantum oratorem præstaret Scaurus, sed quantum defereret.* Controv. lib. v. in Præfatione. Dio informs us, that the tragedy, for which he was accused, was founded on the story of Atreus; and that Tiberius, thinking himself glanced at, said, Since he makes me another ATREUS, I will make him

an AJAX, meaning, that he would force him to destroy himself. Dio, lib. lviii.

(c) The wife of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71.

Section XXXI.

(a) La Bletterie in his note, at the opening of this year, says, Since Tacitus has given the history of the phenix, he thinks an account of the extraordinary crow, that for a long time amused the people of Rome, will not be unacceptable to the reader. He gives the whole detail from Pliny the elder. The crow it seems belonged to a shoemaker, and was soon taught to articulate words. It went every morning to the Rostrum, and there distinctly pronounced, Good day, Tiberius! Good day, Germanicus! Good day, Drusus! This continued for several years. The bird was at last killed by another shoemaker in the neighbourhood, who fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the populace. The bird was afterwards buried near the Appian road with the greatest parade, and a long procession of Roman citizens. See Pliny, lib. x. cap. 43.

(b) Suetonius says, Tiberius was severely lashed in a letter from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, upbraiding him with parricide, murder, cowardice, and luxury; and advising him to expiate his guilt by a voluntary death. In Tib. f. 66.

(c) Artaxias III. who was seated on the throne of Armenia by Germanicus. See book ii. f. 56 and 64.

(d) Vonones was deposed by the Armenians, and obliged to take refuge at Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia. Annals, book iii. f. 4 and 58.

(e) The custom of advancing eunuchs to the highest stations, has been, in all ages, a custom with the princes of the east.

(f) He was the son of Phraates IV. and had been sent by his father as an hostage to Augustus. Annals, book ii. f. 1.

Section XXXII.

(a) L. Vitellius was consul in the preceding year. See this book, f. 28, and note (a). In his administration of Syria, he conducted himself

self with integrity and wisdom ; and on his return to Rome, he thought it the best policy to atone for his virtues by the practice of every vice. He gave rise to the worshipping of Caligula as a God. He approached that emperor with his face veiled, and fell prostrate at his feet. Caligula received the impious homage, and forgave Vitellius all his merit in the east. He ranked him among his favourites. Caligula wished to have it thought that he was a lover of the Moon, and highly favoured by that goddess. He appealed to Vitellius as an eye-witness of his intrigue : “ Sir, said the courtier, when you gods are in conjunction, you are invisible to mortal eyes.” In the following reign, to secure the favour of Claudius, who was the easy dupe of his wives, he requested it as the greatest favour of Messalina, that she would be graciously pleased to let him take off her shoes. His petition was granted. Vitellius carried the shoes to his own house, and made it his constant practice to kiss them before company. He worshipped the golden images of Narcissus and Pallas, and ranked them with his household gods. When Claudius celebrated the secular games, which were to be at the end of every century (see book xi. f. 11), he carried his adulation so far, as to say to the emperor, “ May you often perform this ceremony!” *Sæpe facias*. It may be said of him, that he left his virtues in his province, and at Rome resumed his vices. See Suet. in Vitell. f. ii.

Section XXXIII.

(a) The Etesian wind, or the *North-east*, begins in the beginning of July, and blows during the dog-days. The *Hibernus Auster*, the *South-west*, continues during the winter.

Section XXXIV.

(a) Phryxus was the first that failed to Colchos in pursuit of riches. Jason went afterwards on the same errand, which was called the *Golden Fleece*.

Section XXXVII.

(a) Rivers were supposed to have their presiding deity, and were therefore worshipped by the Persians and the Oriental nations as well as by the Romans.

(b) Tiberius

(b) Tiberius ended the Dalmatic war, A. U. C. 763.

(c) See the Geographical Table.

Section XXXVIII.

(a) A virulent prosecutor. See book ii. f. 28. He was consul with Memmius Regulus, from August to the end of the year 784. See book v. Supplement, f. 29.

Section XXXIX.

(a) Trebellienus Rufus was made guardian to the children of Cotys, the Thracian king. Book ii. f. 67. For Paconianus, see this book, f. 3 and 4.

(b) Poppæus Sabinus was consul in the time of Augustus, A. U. C. 762. He commanded in Mæsia, Achaia, and Macedonia, and obtained triumphal honours. Book i. f. 80.

Section XL.

(a) This was done, that, under colour of dying by the hands of the executioner, his goods might be confiscated. See in this book, f. 29.

(b) Josephus mentions this fact. He says, Tigranes was grandson to Herod.

(c) Caius Galba was brother to Galba, afterwards emperor.

(d) See the Genealogical Table, No. 83 and 84.

Section XLII.

(a) See the Geographical Table.

(b) The office of *Surena* was in point of dignity next to the prince.

Section XLV.

(a) Houses, detached entirely, and contiguous to no other building, were called insulated houses.

(b) See this book, f. 20. Suetonius says, she died in child-bed. Life of Calig. f. xii. The intrigue with ENNIA is there related in a manner somewhat different.

Section XLVI.

(a) Hereditary succession was unknown to the Romans. Under colour of preserving ancient forms, the senate was still supposed to be the depositary of the public mind, and, in case of a demise, the prince was elective. The legions soon usurped the right of naming a successor. The Cæsarean line, as long as it lasted, was respected by the army. After the death of Nero, the last of the Cæsars, wars fierce and bloody were the consequence. The states of Europe, during several centuries, experienced similar convulsions, till, in more enlightened times, the nature of civil government being better understood, hereditary succession was established for the benefit of mankind. See more on this subject, *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, vol. xix.

(b) This was the son of Drusus, who had been cut off by Sejanus. Book iv. f. 8. He was afterwards put to death by Caligula; see Suet. in Calig. f. 23. Caligula himself died by the assassin's dagger. Suet. in Calig. f. 58.

(c) Plutarch, in his *Treatise on the Art of preserving Health*, says, he himself heard Tiberius say, that the man, who at sixty wanted the advice of a physician, must be absurd and ridiculous. Tacitus, with greater probability, confines the maxim to the age of thirty; and he is confirmed by Suetonius, in Tib. f. 68.

Section XLVII.

(a) For Publius Vitellius, see book v. f. 8. The translator is sorry to find, that, by some inadvertence, a mistake has crept into the text. It is said, *Vitellius and Otho became* open enemies; but Vitellius was dead. It should be *BALBUS* and Otho. Balbus was the accuser of Acutia, and he lost his reward by the intercession of the tribune.

(b) Satrius Secundus had been the active agent of Sejanus; see book iv. f. 34. But he ruined his patron in the end; see book v. Supplement, f. 27; and book vi. f. 8.

Section XLIX.

(a) Brotier thinks he was one of the consuls for the preceding year :
but

but as he is in this place said to be a young man, seduced by the arts of a wicked mother, it is not probable that he ever rose to the consulship.

Section L.

(a) We are told by Plutarch, that this villa, formerly the property of Caius Marius, was purchased by Lucullus at an immense price. Plutarch, Life of Marius. Brotier says, the ruins are still to be seen, near the promontory of Misenum.

Section LI.

(a) Velleius Paterculus has said the same thing with great elegance and equal truth. Lib. ii. f. 103, 106, 114. It is in his account of the reign of Tiberius, that the adulation of that historian betrays a want of veracity.

END OF THE NOTES

ON THE

SIX FIRST BOOKS OF THE ANNALS.

GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE:

O R,

INDEX OF THE NAMES OF PLACES, RIVERS, &c. MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME.

A.

ACHAIA, often taken for part of Peloponnesus, but in Tacitus generally for all Greece.

ACTIUM, a promontory of Epirus, now called the *Cape of Tigolo*, famous for the victory of Augustus over M. Antony.

ADRANA, now the *Eder*; a river that flows near *Waldeck*, in the landgravate of *Hesse*, and discharges itself into the *Weser*.

ADRIATIC, now the gulf of Venice.

AFRICA, generally means in Tacitus that part, which was made a proconsular province, of which Carthage was the capital; now the territory of *Tunis*.

ALBIS, now the *Elbe*; a river that rises in the confines of *Silesia*, and, after a wide circuit, falls into the German sea below *Hamburgh*.

ALBANIA, a country of Asia, bordering on Iberia, Armenia, and the Caspian sea.

ALISO, a fort built by Drusus, the father of Germanicus, in the part of Germany now called Westphalia, near the city of *Paderborn*.

AMANUS, a mountain of Syria, separating it from Cilicia; now called *Montagna Neros* by the inhabitants; that is, the watry mountain, abounding in springs and rivulets.

AMATHUS, a maritime town of Cyprus, consecrated to Venus, with an ancient temple of Adonis and Venus: it is now called *Limisso*.

AMAZONIA, a country near the river Thermodon, in Pontus.

AMISIA, now the *Ems*; a river of Germany that falls into the German sea, near Embden.

AMORGOS, an island in the Ægean sea, now Amorgo.

AMYDIS, a town near the gulf of that name, on the coast of Latium in Italy.

ANCONA, a port town in Italy, situate on the gulf of Venice.

ANDECAVI, now *Anjou*.

ANGRIVARIANS, a German people, situate on the west side of the *Weser*, near *Osnaburg* and *Minden*.

ANTIUM, a city of the ancient *Volsci*, situate on the Tuscan sea. It was the birth-place of Nero; now *Capo d'Anzo*.

ANTIOCH, the capital of Syria; now *Antakia*.

APOLLONIDIA, a city of Lydia.

APULIA, a territory of Italy, along the gulf of Venice; now *Capitanate*, *Otranto*, &c.

APHRODISIUM, a town of *Caria* in Thrace, on the Euxine.

AUGUSTODUNUM, the capital of the *Ædui*; now *Autun*, in the duchy of Burgundy. It took its name from Augustus Cæsar.

ARICIA, a town of Latium in Italy, at the foot of Mons Albanus, about an hundred and sixty stadia from Rome.

ARDEN, *Arduenna*, in Tacitus; the forest of Arden.

ARNUS, a river of Tuscany, which visits Florence in its course, and falls into the sea near Pisa.

ARMENIA, a kingdom of Asia, having Albania.

Albania and Iberia to the north, Mount Taurus and Mesopotamia to the south, Media on the east, and the Euphrates to the west.

ARTAXATA, the capital of Armenia, situate on the river Araxes.

AUZA, a strong castle in Mauritania.

B.

BATAVIA, an island formed by two branches of the Rhine, and the German sea. See Tacitus, Annals, book ii. f. 6; and Manners of the Germans, f. xxix. note (a).

BACTRIANA, a province of Persia.

BALEARES, now Majorca and Minorca.

BASTARNI, a people of Germany, who led a wandering life in the vast regions between the Vistula and the Pontic sea.

BITHYNIA, a proconsular province on the south side of the Euxine and the Propontic.

BELGIC GAUL, the country between the Seine and the Marne to the west, the Rhine to the east, and the German sea to the north.

BOVILLÆ, a town of Latium, near Mount Albanus, about ten miles from Rome.

BYZANTIUM, now the city of Constantinople.

BRUCTERIANs, a people of Germany, situate in Westphalia. See the Manners of the Germans, f. xxxiii. note (a).

BRUNDISIUM, a sea-port town of Calabria, at the entrance of the Adriatic, affording to the Romans a commodious passage into Greece; now *Brindisi*, in the territory of *Otranto*, in the kingdom of Naples.

C.

CALABRIA, now the territory of *Otranto*, in the kingdom of Naples.

CAMPANIA, a territory of Italy, bounded by the Tuscan sea. The most fertile and delightful part of Italy; now called *Terra di Lavoro*.

CANINEFATES, a people of the Lower Germany, from the same origin as the Batavians, and inhabitants of part of the isle of Batavia.

CANOPUS, a city of the Lower Ægypt, situate on a branch of the Nile called by the same name.

CAPPADOCIA, a large country in Asia

Minor, between Cilicia and the Euxine sea. Being made a Roman province, the inhabitants had an offer made them of a free and independent government; but their answer was, Liberty might suit the Romans, but the Cappadocians would neither receive liberty, nor endure it.

CARTHAGO, once the most famous city of Africa, and the rival of Rome; supposed by some to have been built by queen Dido, seventy years after Rome; but Justin will have it before Rome. It was the capital of what is now the kingdom of *Tunis*.

CAPREA, an island on the coast of Campania, about four miles in length from east to west, and about one in breadth. It stands opposite to the promontory of *Surrentum*, and has the bay of Naples in view. It was the residence of Tiberius for several years.

CASPIAN SEA, a vast lake between Persia, Great Tartary, Muscovy and Georgia, said to be six hundred miles long, and near as broad.

CATTI, a people of Germany, who inhabited part of the country now called *Hesse*, from the mountains of *Hartz*, to the *Weser* and the *Rhine*.

CAUCI, a people of ancient Germany, situated on both sides of the *Weser*, and extending from the *Ems* to the *Elbe*.

CELENDRI, a place on the coast of Cilicia, near the confines of Pamphylia.

CENCHRIS, a river running through the Ortygian Grove.

CEREINA, an island in the Mediterranean, to the north of the Syrtis Minor in Africa; now called *Kerkeni*.

CÆSIAN FOREST, now the Forest of *Heferawaldt*, in the duchy of Cleves. It is supposed to be a part of the Hercynian Forest.

CÆLALETÆ, a people of Thrace, near Mount *Hæmus*.

CHERUSCANS, a people of Germany, to the north of the *Catti*, between the *Visturgis* and the *Albis*.

CILICIA, an extensive country in the Hither Asia, bounded by Mount Taurus to the north, by the Mediterranean, and by Syria to the east, and Pamphylia to the west. It was one of the provinces reserved for the management of the emperor.

CINITHIANS, a people of Africa.

CIRTA,

CIRTA, formerly the capital of Numidia, and the residence of the king. It is now called *Constantina*, in the kingdom of Algiers.

CIBYRA, formerly a town of Phrygia, near the banks of the Mæander, but now destroyed.

CLITÆ, a people of Cilicia, near Mount Taurus.

COLOPHON, a city of Ionia, in the Hither Asia. One of the places that claimed the birth of Homer; now destroyed.

COLCHOS, a country of Asia, on the east of the Euxine, famous for the fable of the Golden Fleece, the Argonautic Expedition, and the Fair Enchantress, Medea.

COMMAGENE, a district of Syria, bounded on the east by the Euphrates, on the west by Amanus, on the north by Mount Taurus.

Cos, or Coos, one of the islands called the Cyclades, in the Ægean sea, famous for being the birth-place of Apelles.

COSA, a promontory of Etruria; now *Monte Argentaro*, in Tuscany.

CUSUS, a river in Hungary, that falls into the Danube.

CYCLADES, a cluster of islands in the Ægean sea, so called from *Cyclus*, the orb in which they lie. Their names and number are not ascertained. Strabo reckons sixteen.

CYME, a maritime town of Æolia in Asia.

CYPRUS, an island opposite to Cilicia and Syria, formerly sacred to Venus.

CIRRUS, a town of Syria, in the district of Commagene, and not far from Antioch.

CYRENE, the capital of Cyreniæ; a country now called the desert of Barea.

CYTHERA, an island situated on the coast of Peloponnesus, formerly sacred to Venus, and thence her name of *Cytheræa*. The island is now called *Cerigo*.

CYZICUS, a city of Mysia, in the Hither Asia, rendered famous by the long siege of Mithridates, which at last was raised by Lucullus.

D.

DALMATIA, an extensive country bordering on Macedonia and Mæsia, and having the Adriatic to the south.

DANÆ, a people of Scythia, bordering on the Caspian sea.

DANUBE, the largest river in Europe. It rises in Suabia, and after visiting Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, and taking thence a prodigious circuit, falls at last into the Black, or Euxine sea. See Manners of the Germans, f. i. note (g).

DELPHI, a famous inland town of Phocis in Greece, with a temple and oracle of Apollo, situate near the foot of Mount Parnassus.

DELOS, the central island of the Cyclades, famous in mythology for the birth of Apollo and Diana.

DENTHELIATE LANDS, a portion of the Peloponnesus that lay between Laconia and Messenia; often disputed by those states.

DONUSA, or DONYSA, an island in the Ægean sea, not far from *Naxos*. Virgil has, *Bacchatamque jugis Naxon, viridemque Donyfam*.

E.

ÆDUANS, a people of Gaul in the country now called Lower Burgundy.

EPHESUS, an ancient and celebrated city of Ionia, in Asia Minor; now *Efeso*. It was the birth-place of Heraclitus, the weeping philosopher.

ÆGIUM, a city of Greece, in the Peloponnesus; now the *Morea*.

ÆGEAN SEA, a part of the Mediterranean which lies between Greece and Asia Minor; now the *Archipelago*.

ELEPHANTINE, an island in the Nile, not far from Syene; at which last place stood the most advanced Roman garrison: *Notitia Imperii*.

EPIDAPHNE, a town in Syria, not far from Antioch.

ETRURIA, now Tuscany.

ERITHRÆ, a maritime town of Ionia, in Asia Minor.

ELYMÆI, a people bordering on the gulf of Persia.

EUBÆA, an island near the coast of *Attica*; now *Negropont*.

EUPHRATES, a river of Asia, bounding Mesopotamia to the west.

EUXINE, or PONTUS EUXINUS; now the Black Sea.

F.

FIDENÆ, a small town in the territory of the Sabines, about six miles distant from Rome. The place where the ruins of Fidenæ are seen, is now called *Castello Giubileo*.

FLAMMINIAN-

FLAMMINIAN WAY, made by Flaminius A. U. C. 533, from Rome to *Ariminum*, a town of Umbria, or Romana, at the mouth of the river Ariminus, on the gulf of Venice. It is now called *Rimini*.

FLEVUS, a branch of the Nile, that emptied itself into the Lakes, which have been long since absorbed by the *Zuyder-zee*. A castle, called *Flevum Castellum*, was built there by Drusus, the father of Germanicus.

FORUM JULIUM, a Roman colony in Gaul, founded by Julius Cæsar, and completed by Augustus, with an harbour at the mouth of the river *Argens*, capable of receiving a large fleet. The ruins of two moles at the entrance of the harbour are still to be seen. See Life of Agricola, f. iv. note (a). The place is now called *Frejus*.

FUNDANI MONTES, now *Fondi*, a city of Naples, on the confines of the Pope's dominions.

FRISI, the ancient inhabitants of *Friesland*. See Manners of the Germans.

G.

GARAMANTES, a people in the interior part of Africa, extending over a vast tract of country at present little known.

GÆTULI, a people of Africa, bordering on Mauritania.

GOTHONES, a people of ancient Germany, who inhabited part of Poland, and bordered on the Vistula.

GYARUS, one of the islands called the *Cyclades*, rendered famous by being allotted for the banishment of Roman citizens. Juvenal says, *Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris, et carcere dignum, si vis esse aliquis*.

H.

HALICARNASSUS, the capital of Caria, in Asia Minor, famous for being the birth-place of Herodotus and Dionysius, commonly called *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*.

HÆMUS, MOUNT, a ridge of mountains running from Illyricum towards the Euxine sea; now *Mont Argentaro*.

HÆMONADENSIS, a people bordering on Cilicia.

HERCYNIAN FOREST: in the time of Julius Cæsar, the breadth could not be traversed in less than nine days; and after travelling lengthways for sixty days, no man reached the extremity. Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. f. 29*.

HENIOCHIANS, a people dwelling near the Euxine Sea.

HIERO-CÆSAREA, a city in Lydia, famous for a temple to the Persian Diana, supposed to have been built by Cyrus.

HERCULANEUM, a town of Campania, near Mount Vesuvius, swallowed up by an earthquake. Several antiquities have been lately dug out of the ruins.

HISPANIA, Spain, otherwise called *Iberia*, from the river *Iberus*. It has the sea on every side, except that next to *Gaul*, from which it is separated by the *Pyrenées*. During the time of the republic, the whole country was divided into two provinces, *Ulterior* and *Citerior*, the *Farther* and *Hither* Spain. Augustus divided the Farther Spain into two provinces, *Bætica* and *Lusitania*. The Hither Spain he called *Tarraconensis*, and then Spain was formed into three provinces; *Bætica*, under the management of the senate; and the other two, reserved for officers appointed by the prince.

HYRÆRA, a small city in *Lydia*, now raised to the ground.

HYRCANIA, a country of the Farther Asia, to the east of the Caspian Sea, with Media on the west, and Parthia on the south; famous for its tygers. There was a city of the same name in *Lydia*.

I.

IBERIA, an inland country of Asia, with Mount Caucasus to the north, Armenia to the south, Albania to the east, and Colchis and part of Pontus to the west.

IBERUS, a noble river of the Hither Spain; now the *Ebro*.

ILLYRICUM, the country extending from the Adriatic to Pannonia; now called *Sclavonia*.

ILIUM, another name for ancient Troy. A new city, nearer to the sea, was built after the famous siege of Troy, and made a Roman colony. But, as was said of the old city, *Etiam perière ruinae*.

INTERAMNA, an ancient town of the Volsci in Latium, not far from the river Liris. The place is now in ruins.

IONIAN SEA, the sea that washes the western coast of Greece, opposite to the gulf of Venice.

L.

LANUVIUM, a town of Latium, about sixteen miles from Rome; now *Civita Lavinia*.

LAODICEA,

LAODICEA, a town of Phrygia, called, to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, *Laodicea ad Lycum*. Spon, in his account of his travels, says it is raised to the ground, except four theatres built with marble, finely polished, and in as good condition as if they were modern structures.

LAODICEA, AD MARE, a considerable town on the coast of Syria, well built, with a commodious harbour.

LATIUM, the country of the Latini, so called from king Latinus; contained at first within narrow bounds, but greatly enlarged under the Alban kings and the Roman consuls, by the accession of the Æqui, Volsci, Hornici, &c.

LEPTIS: there were in Africa two ancient cities of the name, *Leptis magna*, and *Leptis parva*. The first (now called *Lebeda*) was in the territory of Tripoli; the second, a town on the Mediterranean, not far from Carthage.

LESBOS, an island in the Ægean Sea, near the coast of Asia; the birth-place of Sappho.

LANGOBARDI, or LANGOBORDI, a people of Germany, between the Elbe and the Oder. See Manners of the Germans, f. xl. note (a).

LUGDUNUM, a city of ancient Gaul; now *Lyons*.

LUPPIA, a river of Germany; now the *Lippe*.

LYBIA, the name given by the Greeks to all Africa; but, properly speaking, it was an interior part of Africa.

LYCIA, a country in Asia Minor, bounded by Pamphilia, Phrygia, and the Mediterranean.

LYDIA, an inland country of Asia Minor, formerly governed by Cræsus; now *Carafia*.

M.

MACEDONIA, a large country, rendered famous by Philip of Macedon, and his son Alexander; now a province of the Turkish empire, bounded by Servia and Bulgaria to the north, by Greece to the south, by Thrace and the Archipelago to the east, and by Epirus to the west.

MAGNESIA: there were anciently three cities of the name; one in Ionia, on the Mæander, which, it is said, was given to Themistocles by Artaxerxes, with these

words, *to furnish his table with bread*; it is now called *Guzel-Hissard*, in Asiatic Turkey: the second was at the foot of Mount Sipylus, in Lydia; but has been destroyed by earthquakes: the third Magnesia was a maritime town of Thessaly, on the Ægean Sea.

MARUS, a river of Germany, now the *Morava*; which, running through Moravia, separates Aulria from Hungary, and discharges itself into the Danube.

MARSI, a people of Germany, to the south of the Frisians, in the country now called Paderborne and Munster.

MAURITANIA, a large country of Africa, with Numidia on the east, Getulia to the south, and the Mediterranean to the north. The natives were called Mauri, and thence the name of Mauritania; now *Barbary*.

MATTIUM, the capital of the ancient Mattiaci, a branch of the people called the Catti. It is supposed now to be *Marpourg* in *Hesse*.

MARCOMANIANS, a people of Germany, between the Rhine, the Danube, and the Neckar. They removed to the country of the Boii, and, having expelled the inhabitants, occupied the country now called *Bohemia*. See Manners of the Germans, f. xlii.

MEDIA, a country of the Farther Asia, bounded on the west by Armenia, on the east by Parthia; on the north by the Caspian Sea; on the south by Persia. *Ecbatana* was the capital.

MÆSIA, a district of the ancient Illyricum, bordering on Pannonia, containing what is now called *Servia* and *Bulgaria*.

MESSENA, or MESSANA, an ancient and celebrated city of Sicily, on the strait between that island and Italy. It still retains the name of *Messina*.

MESOPOTAMIA, a large country in the middle of Asia; so called, because it lies, μέση ποταμῶν, between two rivers, the Euphrates on the west, and the Tigris on the east.

MILETUS, an ancient city of Ionia, in Asia Minor; now totally destroyed.

MISENUM, a promontory of Campania, near the *Sinus Putcolanus*, or the bay of Naples, on the north side. It was the station for the Roman fleets. Now *Capo di Miseno*.

MITYLENE,

MITYLENE, the capital city of the isle of Lesbos, and now gives name to the whole island.

MOSTENI, the common name of the people and their town on the river Hermus, in Lydia.

MOSA, a large river of Belgic Gaul; it receives a branch of the Rhine, called *Vabalis*, and falls into the German Ocean; now the *Maese*, or *Meuse*.

MUSULANI, an independent savage people in Africa, on the confines of Carthage, Numidia, and Mauritania.

MYRINA, a town of *Æolis*, or *Æolia*, in the Hither Asia; now *Sanderlik*.

N.

NABATHÆI, a people between the Euphrates and the Red Sea; comprehending Arabia Petræa, and bounded by Palestine on the north.

NARBON GAUL, the southern part of Ancient Gaul.

NARNIA, a town of Umbria, on the river Nar.

NAR, a river which rises in Umbria, and, falling into the lake *Velinus*, rushes thence with a violent and loud cascade, and empties itself into the Tiber.

NAUPORTUM, a town on a cognominal river in Pannonia.

NICOPOLIS: there were several towns of this name, viz. in *Ægypt*, Armenia, Bithynia, on the Euxine, &c. A town of the same name was built by Augustus, on the coast of Epirus, as a monument of his victory at Actium.

NOLA, a city of Campania, on the north-east of Vesuvius. At this place Augustus breathed his last: it retains its old name to this day.

NORICUM, a Roman province, bounded by the Danube on the north, by the *Alpes Noricæ* on the south; by Pannonia on the east, and Vindelicia on the west; now containing a great part of Austria, Tyrol, Bavaria, &c.

NUMIDIA, a celebrated kingdom of Africa, bordering on Mauritania, and bounded to the north by the Mediterranean; now *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, &c. Syphax was king of one part, and Malinissa of the other.

O.

-ODRYSÆ, a people situated in the western

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part of Thrace, now a province of European Turkey.

P.

PAGIDA, a river in Numidia; its modern name is not ascertained; D'Anville thinks it is now called *Fiffato*, in the territory of *Tripoli*.

PAMPHILIA, a country of the Hither Asia, bounded by Pisidia to the north, and by the Mediterranean to the south.

PANNONIA, an extensive country of Europe, bounded by Mæsia on the east, by Noricum on the west, Dalmatia on the south, and by the Danube to the north; containing part of *Austria* and *Hungary*.

PANDATARIA, an island in the Tuscan sea; a place of banishment under the Roman emperors; now *Santa Maria*.

PAPHOS: there were two towns of the name, both on the west side of the island of Cyprus, and dedicated to Venus. Hence the *Paphian* and the *Cyprian* goddesses.

PARTHIA, a kingdom of Asia.

PELOPONNESUS, the large peninsula to the south of Greece, so called after *Pelops*, viz. *Pelopis Nefus*. It is joined to the rest of Greece by the Isthmus of Corinth, which lies between the *Ægean* and *Ionian* seas. It is now called the *Morea*.

PERINTHUS, a town of Thrace, situate on the Propontis, now called *Heraclea*.

PERUSIA, formerly a principal city of Etruria, on the north side of the Tiber, with the famous *Lacus Trasimenus* to the east. It was besieged by Augustus, and reduced by famine. Lucan has, *Perusina fames*. It is now called *Perugia*.

PERGAMOS, an ancient and famous city of *Myfia*, situate on the Caicus, which runs through it. It was the residence of Attalus and his successors. This place was famous for a royal library, formed, with emulation, to vie with that of Alexandria in *Ægypt*. The kings of the latter, stung with paltry jealousy, prohibited the exportation of paper. Hence the invention of parchment, called *Pergamana charta*. Plutarch assures us, that the library at Pergamos contained two hundred thousand volumes. The whole collection was given by Marc Antony as a present to Cleopatra, and thus the two libraries were consolidated into one. In about six or seven centuries afterwards, the volumes of science, by order of the Califf

Omar,

Omar, served for a fire to warm the baths of Alexandria; and thus perished *all the physic of the soul*. The town subsists at this day, and retains the name of *Pergamos*. See Spon's Travels, vol. i.

PHILIPPOPOLIS, a city of Thrace, near the river *Hebrus*. It derived its name from Philip of Macedon, who enlarged it, and augmented the number of inhabitants.

PHILADELPHIA: there were several ancient towns of this name. That which Tacitus mentions was in Lydia, built by Attalus Philadelphus; it is now called by the Turks, *Alah Scheyr*.

PHILIPPI, a city of Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace; famous for the battle fought on its plains between Augustus and the republican party. It is now in ruins.

PICENUM, a territory of Italy, to the east of Umbria, and in some parts extending from the Apennine to the Adriatic. It is now supposed to be the *Marsh of Ancona*.

PIRÆEUS, a celebrated port near Athens. It is much frequented at this day; its name, *Porta Leone*.

PLANASIA, a small island near the coast of Etruria, in the Tuscan Sea; now *Pianosa*.

POMPEIOPOLIS: there were anciently two cities of the name; one in Cilicia, another in Paphlagonia.

PONTUS, an extensive country of Asia Minor, lying between Bithynia and Paphlagonia, and extending along the *Pontus Euxinus*, the Euxine or the Pontic Sea, from which it took its name. The wars between Mithridates, king of Pontus, and the Romans are well known.

PONTIA, an island in the Tuscan sea; a place of relegation or banishment.

PROPONTIS, near the Hellespont and the Euxine; now the Sea of *Marmora*.

PYRAMUS, a river of Cilicia, rising in Mount Taurus, and running from east to west into the Sea of Cilicia.

PYRGI, a town of Etruria, on the Tuscan sea; now *St. Marinella*, about thirty-three miles distant from Rome.

Q.

QUADI, a people of Germany, situate to the south-east of Bohemia, on the banks of the Danube. See Manners of the Germans, l. xlii. note (b).

R.

RAVENNA, an ancient city of Italy, near the coast of the Adriatic. A port was constructed at the mouth of the river Bedefis, and by Augustus made a station for the fleet that guarded the Adriatic. It is still called *Ravenna*.

REATE, a town of the Sabines in Latium, situate near the lake Velinus.

RHEGIUM, an ancient city at the extremity of the Apennin, on the narrow strait between Italy and Sicily. It is now called *Reggio*, in the farther Calabria.

RHÆTIA, a country bounded by the Rhine to the west, the Alps to the east, by Italy to the south, and *Vindelicia* to the north. Horace says, *Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus Drusum gerentem, et Vindelici*. Now the country of the *Grisons*.

RHINE, the river that rises in the Rhætian Alps, and divides Gaul from Germany. See Manners of the Germans, l. i. note (f); and l. xxix. note (a).

RHODUS, a celebrated island in the Mediterranean, near the coast of Asia Minor. The place of retreat for the discontented Romans. Tiberius made that use of it.

S.

SALA. It seems that two rivers of this name were intended by Tacitus. One, now called the *Iffel*, which had a communication with the Rhine, by means of the canal made by Drusus, the father of Germanicus. The other SALA was a river in the country now called *Thuringia*, described by Tacitus as yielding salt, which the inhabitants considered as the peculiar favour of heaven. The salt, however, was found in the salt springs near the river, which runs northward into the Albis, or Elbe.

SALAMIS, an island near the coast of Attica, opposite to *Eleusis*. There was also a town of the name of Salamis, on the eastern coast of Cyprus, built by Teucer, when driven by his father from his native island. Horace says, *Ambiguam tellure novæ Salamina futuram*.

SAMOTHRACIA, an island of Thrace, in the *Ægean Sea*, opposite to the mouth of the Hebrus. There were mysteries of initiation celebrated in this island, held in as high repute as those of Eleusis; with a sacred and inviolable asylum.

SAMOS,

SAMOS, an island of Asia Minor, opposite to Ephesus; the birth-place of Pythagoras, who was thence called the *Samian Sage*.

SARDINIA, an island on the Sea of Liguria, lying to the south of Corsica. It is said that an herb grew there, which, when eaten, produced a painful grin, called *Sardonius risus*. The island now belongs to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of king.

SARDES, the capital of Lydia, at the foot of Mount Tmolus, from which the Pactolus ran down through the heart of the city. The inhabitants were called *Sardiani*.

SARMATIA, a northern country of vast extent, divided into Sarmatia Asiatica, containing *Tartary*, *Circassia*, &c. and into Sarmatia Europæa, comprising Russia, part of Poland, Prussia, and Lithuania.

SCEPTEUCI, a people of Asiatic Sarmatia, between the Euxine and the Caspian Sea.

SEGESTUM, a town of Sicily, near Mount Eryx, famous for a temple sacred to the *Erycinian Venus*.

SELEUCIA. We find in ancient geography several cities of this name. That which is mentioned by Tacitus, *Annals*, book ii. was within a few miles of Antioch, near the mouth of the *Orontes*, which falls into the Syrian Sea.

SEMNONES, a people of Germany, called by Tacitus the most illustrious branch of the Suevi. They inhabited between the Albis and Viadrus.

SERIPHOS, a small island in the Ægean Sea, one of the Cyclades; now *Serfo*, or *Serfanto*.

SEQUANI, a people of Belgic Gaul, inhabiting the country now called *Franche Comté*, or the *Upper Burgundy*, and deriving their name from the *Sequana* (now the *Seine*), which, rising near *Dijon* in Burgundy, runs through Paris, and, traversing Normandy, falls into the British Channel near *Havre de Grace*.

SICAMBRI, an ancient people of Lower Germany, between the Maese and the Rhine, where *Guelderland* is. They were transplanted by Augustus to the west side of the Rhine. Horace says to that emperor, *Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri, compositis venerantur armis*.

SIPYLUS, a mountain of Lydia, near

which Livy says the Romans obtained a complete victory over Antiochus.

SMYRNA, a city of Ionia in the Hither Asia, which laid a strong claim to the birth of Homer. The name of Smyrna still remains in a port town of Asiatic Turkey.

SPELUNCA, a small town near *Fondi*, on the coast of Naples.

SYENE, a town in the Higher Ægypt, towards the borders of Ethiopia, situate on the Nile. It lies under the Tropic of Cancer, as is evident, says Pliny the elder, from there being no shadow projected at noon at the summer solstice. It was, for a long time, the boundary of the Roman empire. A garrison was stationed there; Juvenal was sent to command there by Domitian, who, by conferring that unlooked-for honour, meant, with covered malice, to punish the poet for his reflection on Paris the comedian, a native of Ægypt, and a favourite at court.

SYRIA, a large country of the Hither Asia, between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates.

SYRTES, the *deserts of Barbary*; also two dangerous sandy gulfs in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Barbary; one called *Syrtis Magna*, now the *Gulf of Sidra*; the other *Syrtis Parva*, now the *Gulf of Cassos*.

SCYTHIA, a large country, now properly Crim Tartary; in ancient geography divided into Scythia Asiatica, on either side of Mount Imaus; and Scythia Europæa, about the Euxine Sea and the Mæotic Lake.

STRATONICE, a town of Caria in the Hither Asia, so called after *Stratonice*, the wife of Antiochus.

SUEVI, a great and warlike people of Ancient Germany, who occupied a prodigious tract of country. See *Manners of the Germans*, f. xxxviii. and note (a).

T.

TARENTUM, an ancient city of Calabria, either founded or improved by the Lacedæmonians. Hence called by Horace, *Lacedæmonium Tarentum*. It is now called *Taranto*, near the *Golfo di Taranto*.

TARRACO, the capital of a division of Spain, called by the Romans *Tarraconensis*;

now Taragon, a port town in Catalonia, on the Mediterranean, to the west of *Barcellona*. See HISPANIA.

TAUNUS, Mount, near Maguntiacum, now *Mayence*, in Germany.

TAURUS, the greatest mountain in Asia, extending from the Indian to the Ægean Sea; said to be fifty miles over, and fifteen hundred long. Its extremity to the north is called *Imaus*.

TELEBOÆ, a people of Ætolia or Acarnania in Greece, who removed to Italy, and settled in the isle of Capræ.

TEMNOS, an inland town of Æolia in the Hither Asia.

TENOS, one of the Cyclades.

TERMES, a city in the Hither Spain; now a village called *Tiermes*, in Castille.

TERRACINA, a city of the *Volsci* in Latium, near the mouth of the *Ufens*, on the Tuscan Sea; now called *Terracina*, in the territory of Rome.

TEUTOBURGIUM, a forest in Germany, rendered famous by the slaughter of Varus and his legions. It began in the country of the Marfi, and extended to Paderborn, Osnaburg, and Munster, between the *Ems* and the *Lupia*.

THALA, a town in Numidia, destroyed in the war of Julius Cæsar against Juba.

THRACIA, an extensive region, bounded to the north by Mount Hæmus, to the south by the Ægean Sea, and by the Euxine and Propontis to the east. In the time of Tiberius it was an independent kingdom, but afterwards made a Roman province.

THEBÆ, a very ancient town in the Higher Ægypt, on the east side of the Nile, famous for its hundred gates. Another city of the same name in Bæotia, in Greece, said to have been built by Cadmus. It had the honour of producing two illustrious chiefs, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and Pindar the celebrated poet. Alexander raised it to the ground; but spared the house and family of Pindar.

THERMES, otherwise THERMA, a town in Macedonia, afterwards called *Theffalonia*, famous for two epistles of St. Paul to the Theffalonians. The city stood at the head of a large bay, called *Thermæus Sinus*; now *Golfo di Salonichi*.

THESSALY, a country of Greece, formerly a great part of Macedonia.

THUBASCUM, a town of Mauritania in Africa.

TIBUR, a town of ancient Latium, situate on the Anio, about twenty miles from Rome. Here Horace had his villa, and it was the frequent retreat of Augustus.

TICINUM, a town of *Insubria*, situate on the river Ticinus, near its confluence with the Po; now *Pavia*, in Milan.

TICINUS, a river of Italy falling into the Po, near the city of *Ticinum*, or *Pavia*; now *Tesino*.

TIGRIS, one of the two great rivers that inclose the country called Mesopotamia. Pliny gives an account of the Tigris, in its rise and progress, till it sinks under ground near Mount Taurus, and breaks forth again with a rapid current, falling at last into the Persian Gulf.

TMOLUS, a mountain of Lydia, commended for its vines, its saffron, its fragrant shrubs, and the fountain-head of the Pactolus. It appears from Tacitus, that there was a town of the same name, that stood near the mountain.

TRALLES, formerly a rich and populous city of Lydia, not far from the river Meander. The ruins are still visible.

TRIMETUS, an island in the Adriatic; one of those which the ancients called *Insule Diomedæ*: it still retains the name of *Tremiti*. It lies near the coast of the *Capitanate*, a province of the kingdom of Naples, on the Gulf of Venice.

TREVIRI, the people of *Treves*; an ancient city of the Lower Germany, on the Moselle. It was made a Roman colony by Augustus, and became the most famous city of Belgic Gaul. It is now the capital of an electorate of the same name.

TUBANTES, an ancient people of Germany, about *Westphalia*.

TURONII, a people of Ancient Gaul, inhabiting the east side of the *Ligeris* (now the *Loire*). Hence the modern name of *Tours*.

UBII, a people of Germany, transplanted to the west side of the Rhine, where they built a city, called *Ubiorum Oppidum*, till they were changed into a Roman colony by Agrippina, wife of the emperor Claudius, and thence called *Colonia Agrippinensis*, the Agrippinian Colony; now *Cologne*, capital of the Archbishopric of that name.

UBIAN

UBIAN ALTAR, an altar erected by the Ubii, on their removal to the western side of the Rhine, in honour of Augustus; but whether this was at a different place, or the town of the Ubii, is not known.

UMBRIA, a division of Italy, to the south-east of Etruria, between the Adriatic and the Nar.

UNSINGIS, a river of Germany, running into the sea, near *Groningen*; now the *Hunsing*.

USIPPII, or USIPETES, a people of Germany, who, after their expulsion by the Catti, settled near *Paderborn*. See Manners of the Germans, f. xxxii. and note (a).

VAHALIS, a branch of the Rhine; now the *Waal*. See Manners of the Germans, f. xxix. and note (a).

VELINUS, a lake in the country of the Sabines.

VETERA, i. e. Vetera Castra. The Old Camp, which was a fortified station for the legions; now *Santen*, in the duchy of Cleves, not far from the Rhine.

VIADRUS, now the *Oder*, running through *Silesia*, *Brandenburg*, *Pomerania*, and discharging itself into the Baltic.

VINDELICI, a people inhabiting the country of *Vindelicia*, near the Danube, with the Rhæti to the south; now part of *Bavaria* and *Suabia*.

VISURGIS, a river of Germany, made famous by the slaughter of Varus and his legions; now the *Weser*, running north between *Westphalia* and *Lower Saxony*, into the German Sea.

VULSINII, or VOLSINII, a city of Etruria, the native place of *Sejanus*; now *Bolseno*, or *Bolsenna*.